Dio's Roman history

Cassius Dio Cocceianus



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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

I

Cassius DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

EARNEST CARY, Ph.D.

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF

HERBERT BALDWIN FOSTER, Ph.D.

IN NINE VOLUMES

I

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INTRODUCTION

Cassius Dio Cocceianus was a near relative, perhaps a grandson, of the famous orator, Dio Chrysostom, after whom he took the names Dio and Cocceianus, and like him was a native of Bithynia. His father was Cassius Apronianus, a Roman senator, who served as governor of Cilicia and of Dalmatia.[1] It is now established[2] that the correct order of Dio's names, if we follow the normal Roman usage, is that just given, his *praenomen* being unknown. The common Greek order, however, was Δίων ὁ Κάσσιος, and this order has become so thoroughly familiar to English readers that it bids fair to remain the popular usage.

The few details known regarding Dio's life are derived from casual statements occurring in his history. The date of his birth has been variously placed between 155 and 164 A.D., according to the time assumed for his admission to the senate. We learn that he was with his father during the latter's governorship of Cilicia,[3] and that after his father's

[1] Books LXIX, 1, 3; LXXII, 7, 2; XLIX, 36, 4.
[2] See *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, i. pp. 313 f.
[3] LXXII, 7, 2.

death he came to Rome, apparently about the year 180. In describing the behaviour of Commodus toward the senate and others at the beginning of his reign, he states that his account is henceforth the result of personal observation and not hearsay. It seems a reasonable inference, therefore, that he was already a member of the senate at this time, and therefore at least twenty-five years of age. Pertinax in 193 nominated him to the praetorship for the following year;[1] but in the meantime both Pertinax and his successor Julianus were overthrown, and Dio thus assumed the office under Septimius Severus. The mild course of the new ruler at the outset of his reign, taken in connexion with his past record, was such as to win the enthusiastic admiration of Dio and to encourage in him the hope that a new era was now dawning.

It was at this point, apparently, that Dio's literary work began. He wrote and published a little book, as he tells us,[2] containing an account of the dreams and portents which had foretold to Severus his future greatness.[3] The details he had doubtless learned from the emperor himself, and he presumably had implicit faith in all these signs, to judge from his fondness for reporting omens and prodigies in general. Upon receiving a gracious letter from Severus in acknowledgment of a presentation copy, he seemed to be admonished by a dream the following night to

[1] LXXIII, 12, 2. [2] LXXII, 23. [3] A brief list of these he later inserted in his history (LXXIV, 3).

write history. Accordingly he compiled an account of the events leading up to the accession of Severus.[1] This work also met with a cordial reception, both on the part of the emperor and of the public, and Dio soon formed the resolve to cover the whole period of Roman history. It has been conjectured that his original intention was to have the work find its fitting climax in the splendour of the new era inaugurated by Severus; if such was the case, his plan must have been changed very promptly. He presently withdrew largely from public affairs for the remainder of Severus' reign, and spent the greater part of his time in retirement at his country-seat in Capua.[2] During these years he gathered his material and wrote a considerable part of the history. In a certain vague passage[3] he seems to imply that he had been consul (*suffectus,* naturally) under Severus; but this first consulship should probably be dated some years later (*circa* 222), shortly before his proconsulship in Africa. Indeed, it seems altogether probable that his retirement from public life was the direct outcome of the changed policy of Severus, which could no longer command his support.

Caracalla, the successor of Severus, took Dio along as a member of his retinue on his Eastern expedition in 216, and the following winter was spent at Nicomedia;[4] but Dio did not accompany the

[1] Later incorporated in his larger work, as he tells us.
[2] LXXVI, 2, 1. [3] LXXVI, 16, 4. [4] LXXVII, 17–18; LXXVIII, 8, 4.

emperor to the Parthian war. By Macrinus he was placed over the cities of Pergamum and Smyrna as *curator ad corrigendum statum civitatium*,[1] and he was continued in this position by Elagabalus. Under Alexander Severus he became proconsul of Africa, and upon his return was sent out as governor successively of Dalmatia and Upper Pannonia,[2] both imperial provinces. In 229 he became consul for the second time (*consul ordinarius*) with Alexander himself as colleague. But his disciplinary measures in Pannonia had made him unpopular with the praetorians, so that he found it advisable to remain away from Rome much of the time; and he soon obtained permission to retire to Nicaea, his native city, on the plea of an ailment of the foot.[3] This is the last he tells us about himself, and we can only conjecture how many years of leisure he enjoyed in his native land; inasmuch, however, as he was presumably already past the age of seventy at the time of his retirement, it is probable that his death occurred soon afterwards.

The work for which Dio is known to the modern world is his Roman History (*Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία* or *Ῥωμαϊκά*), originally in eighty books, covering the period from the landing of Aeneas down to the year of his own (second) consulship in 229 A.D. The last seven years, however, were treated very summarily, having been added, apparently, as an afterthought. He informs us that he spent ten years in gathering his

[1] LXXIX, 7, 4. [2] XLIX, 36, 4; LXXX, 1, 3. [3] LXXX, 5.

material for the period down to Severus' death,[1] that he had read everything of importance on the subject,[2] and that twelve years was the time occupied in composing the work.[3] The period of these labours may be roughly estimated as the years 200–222. The lexicographer Suidas attributes five other works to Dio; but it is practically certain that only one, or possibly two, of these shorter works can have been written by him. The Life of Arrian, who was a fellow-Bithynian as well as a fellow-historian, may actually have been the work of Dio. If he ever wrote an account of Hadrian's reign, it was doubtless incorporated in his large work, as was the case with his first two treatises; but it is strange that he should have made no mention of it.

The whole period of nearly a thousand years covered by his history falls into three main divisions according to his own statements.[4] The first is the period of the republic, when political action rested with the senate and the people; the facts were public property, and even if distorted from personal motives by some writers, could readily be ascertained from others or from the public records. The second period extends from the establishment of the monarchy to the death of Marcus Aurelius. Under the emperors action was no longer taken openly, and such versions as were given to the public were naturally received with suspicion. Dio must now

[1] LXXII, 23, 5. [2] Frg. 1, 2; cf. LIII, 19, 6.
[3] LXXII, 23, 5. [4] LIII, 19; LXXI, 36, 4; LXXII, 4, 2.

content himself in the main with giving the published reports of events, although he proposes now and then to express his own opinion based on what he has heard and read. The third period is that of his own day; he now writes of events of which he had first-hand knowledge, and, as might be expected, introduces more of detail into this portion of his work. Incidentally he states that with the accession of Commodus his history makes a sheer descent from the golden to the iron age. There are traces of a division of the work into decads. Book XLI begins the Civil War, LI the monarchy (if we accept Dio's view, here stated, that the battle of Actium marked the beginning of the reign of Augustus[1]), and LXXI, apparently, the reign of Marcus Aurelius; while it is very probable that Book XI began the First Punic War, XXI the Third Punic War, and perhaps XXXI the First Mithridatic War.

Dio followed the annalistic order of treatment, so popular among the Romans, according to which all the events of a given year, in whatever part of the world they occurred, were grouped together. The eponymous consuls of each year are regularly named at the appropiate points in the text, and in addition there is prefixed to each book, even for the imperial age, a table of the consuls for the period covered.

[1] It must be admitted, however, that the introductory words of Book LII read much more like the transition to a new period.

When he comes to the empire, moreover, he is very careful to specify to a day the exact duration of each emperor's reign, and in certain other matters aims at equal exactness. Yet in spite of all his pains in this regard it would often be extremely difficult or impossible to extract a consistent chronology from his data. For it frequently happens that in his desire to trace the causes or results of a given series of events he is led to exceed the limits of a single year by a considerable margin; occasionally also this same motive is responsible for an inversion of the actual order of events.

Unfortunately the value of his history is greatly diminished for us as the result of his blind devotion to two theories governing historical writing in his day. On the one hand a sense of the dignity[1] and true value of history demanded that mere details and personal anecdotes should give place to the larger aspects and significance of events. On the other hand the historian was never to forget that he was at the same time a rhetorician; if the bare facts were lacking in effectiveness, they could be adorned, modified, or variously combined in the interest of a more dramatic presentation. These two principles, as applied by Dio, have resulted all too frequently in a somewhat vague, impressionistic picture of events, in which precisely those data which the modern historian eagerly looks for are either largely wanting

[1] LXXII, 18, 3.

or else blurred and confused. Thus names, numbers, and exact dates are often omitted; geographical details are scanty; and even the distinctive features of the various battles are passed over in great part in favour of rhetorical commonplaces, culled from Thucydides and other models, thus robbing the battles of all or much of their individuality.[1] A good illustration of the transformation the facts could be made to undergo in the interest of these two theories is to be seen in his account of the conquest of Gaul. It is now generally recognized that there is nothing in this account which need imply an ultimate source other than Caesar's Commentaries;[2] and yet, were it not for the familiar names, the reader might readily be excused for failing to recognize many of the events narrated, to such an extent has Dio shifted the emphasis on the facts and assigned new motives, while all the time striving to bring into bold relief the contrasts between the Gallic and the Roman character. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the speeches, which in Dio occupy a disproportionate amount of space (averaging one long speech or debate to the book), seem even farther removed from the realm of actual history than those of the ancient historians generally.

[1] The most important exception is afforded by his account of the battle of Actium.

[2] It is probable that his immediate source was Livy's version, to which he doubtless owed some of his variations from Caesar's account.

The most famous of all these speeches, that of Maecenas to Augustus regarding the establishment of the monarchy, is in reality a political pamphlet setting forth Dio's own views of government, and parts of it are an anachronism in the mouth of Maecenas. Again, the speech which Dio makes Caesar deliver to his officers (not to his troops) before the battle with Ariovistus has almost nothing in common with the address reported by Caesar himself.

The problem of Dio's sources for the periods before his own day has been investigated by various scholars with widely divergent results. It is clear that he has much in common with Livy, but the tendency of early investigators was to overrate Livy's influence. Schwartz has shown that down to the end of the Second Punic war Dio holds an independent course between the various traditions known to us. After this there is apparent an increasing similarity between his account and that of Livy, which becomes most marked in the periods of the civil war, and the natural inference is that Livy was here used directly as a principal source. There are important agreements also with Polybius, but no conclusive evidence of direct dependence. Sallust was almost certainly not among Dio's sources, and it is not probable that Caesar's Commentaries were used, at least to any extent. For the period of the empire Tacitus has been confidently claimed by some as an important source, particularly for the reign and

characterization of Tiberius; others, with less probability, have denied any such influence. A few isolated parallels between Dio and Sallust, also Pliny the Elder, have been pointed out; but they are not of sufficient importance to establish any direct influence. In a few instances Dio refers to the memoirs of emperors (Augustus, Hadrian, and Severus), as if he had consulted them. He excels the other historians of Rome in the attention paid to constitutional and administrative matters, and it has been argued that he must have consulted some of the public records, at least the lists of magistrates. In general it may be said that his history gives evidence of being based on various sources for a given period,[1] and he seems to have made an honest attempt to arrive at the truth. Unfortunately he was not always equal to the task of reconciling the discrepancies in his sources and thus manages to contradict himself at times.

Dio's point of view is thoroughly Roman. He writes from the standpoint of a senator who, while jealous of the prerogatives of his order, is at the same time a thorough believer in the monarchy; in fact he makes the relations of the emperors to the senate the central idea in his account of the empire. His impatience with all opposition to the monarchy is probably responsible for the almost

[1] Compare his own statements in Frg. 1, 2 and Book LIII, 19, 6.

bitter hostility shown towards Cicero. He has a poor opinion of the common people, and he resents the great power and influence of the praetorian guard.

In style and diction the history is modelled on Thucydides. Not alone the long involved periods of the Athenian historian, but also a multitude of single words, constructions, and phrases either peculiar to him or shared with a few other writers, reappear in these pages. It would seem that Dio steeped himself in the vocabulary and thoughts of his great model until he could think almost unconsciously in the words of the other.

Dio exerted no appreciable influence on his immediate successors in the field of Roman history. But among the Byzantines he became the standard authority on the subject, a circumstance to which we doubtless owe the preservation of such a large portion of his work.

About one third of Dio's History has come down to us intact. The extant portions are: (*a*) Books XXXIV–LX (in large part), contained in eleven Mss.; (*b*) Book LXXVIII with part of LXXIX (or LXXIX with part of LXXX according to Boissevain's division), preserved in a single Ms.; (*c*) the Paris fragments describing events of the years 207–200 B.C., recovered from the binding of a Strabo Ms.

For our knowledge of the lost portions of Dio's work we have two kinds of sources: (1) Excerpts contained in various Byzantine collections, together with brief quotations made by lexicographers and grammarians; and (2) Epitomes by Zonaras and Xiphilinus, supplemented by occasional citations in other historical writers. The quotations of the first class may be supposed to give, as a rule, the very words of Dio, subject of course to necessary changes in phraseology at the beginning, and sometimes at the end, and to occasional omission elsewhere of portions unessential to the excerptor's purpose. These constitute the Fragments of our author in the strict sense of the term. The Epitomes, on the other hand, while they often repeat entire sentences of Dio verbatim, or nearly so (as may readily be seen by comparing extant portions of the histories with Zonaras or Xiphilinus), must, nevertheless, be regarded as essentially paraphrases. A brief description of these various sources follows:

(1) The Excerpts *De Virtutibus et Vitiis* (V) are found in a Ms. of the tenth century, the Codex Peirescianus, now in the library of Tours. It was first published in 1634 by Henri de Valois, whence the fragments are sometimes called *Excerpta Valesiana*, as well as *Peiresciana*. The collection consists (at present) of quotations from fourteen historians, extending from Herodotus to Malalas. From Dio

alone there are 415 excerpts, and the Ms. originally contained still more.

The Excerpts *De Sententiis* (M) are contained in a Vatican palimpsest (Vaticanus Graecus 73) of the tenth or eleventh century. The Ms. is in very bad condition; numerous leaves were discarded and the others disarranged when the Ms. was used for the second writing. Angelo Mai, who first published the collection in 1826, employed chemical reagents to bring out the letters and even then had to despair of many passages. Since his use of the Ms. the letters have naturally faded still more, and parts of some leaves have been covered in the work of repair. The excerpts attributed to Dio are drawn from nearly all periods of Roman history, and fall into two groups, the first extending down to 216 B.C., the other from 40 B.C. to the reign of Constantine; between the two portions several leaves, and probably entire quaternions, have been lost from the Ms. That the former set of fragments is taken from Dio none will deny. The later collection, however, extends much beyond the reign of Alexander Severus, where Dio ended his history; furthermore, the style and diction are considerably different from Dio's own. It is now generally agreed that all the excerpts of this second set were the work of one man, whom Boissevain, following Niebuhr, would identify with Petrus Patricius, a historian of the sixth century. Nevertheless, though not direct

quotations from Dio, they are of value in filling out both his account and that of Xiphilinus.

The Excerpts *De Legationibus*—Embassies (*a*) of Foreign Nations to the Romans (U^G), and (*b*) of the Romans to Foreign Nations (U^R)—appear in nine Mss., all derived from a Spanish archetype (since destroyed by fire) owned by Juan Paez de Castro in the sixteenth century. First published by Fulvio Orsini in 1582, and hence called *Excerpta Ursiniana.*

The three collections thus far named are known collectively as the *Excerpta Constantiniana.* They formed a small part of a great encyclopedia of more than fifty subjects, compiled under the direction of Constantine VII. Porphyrogennetus (A.D. 912–59). They have recently been reëdited by Boissevain, de Boor, and Büttner-Wobst (Berlin, 1903–06).

The Florilegium (Flor.) of Maximus the Confessor contains excerpts from various authors, arranged under seventy-one categories, the first of which is Virtue and Vice. Mai first published a number of fragments of Dio from this collection (from a Vatican Ms.), but inserted several which have since been rejected. There are at least six Mss. of the Florilegium containing excerpts from Dio. From one of these (Parisinus 1169, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century) Boissevain adds to the previous fragments No. 55, 3^a and 3^b.[1]

[1] The *Excerpta Planudea*, a collection made by the monk Maximus Planudes (1260–1310) and published by Mai, have been shown by Boissevain and others to have no place among the fragments of Dio. A unique exception is the fragment at the beginning of Book XXI (Vol. ii, p. 370).

The short syntactical lexicon (Περὶ Συντάξεως) published in Bekker's Anecdota Graeca (vol. i. pp. 117-180) contains nearly 140 brief citations from Dio, nearly all of which are assigned to their several books, though unfortunately many of the numbers have been corrupted. On the basis of these citations, compared with the epitomes, von Gutschmid and Boissevain independently attempted to determine the points of division between the lost books of Dio, and reached essentially the same results. Yet in several places the evidence is insufficient to constitute more than a reasonable probability.[1]

The lexicon of Suidas, the Etymologicum Magnum, and a few other compilations of like character are also useful in affording occasional citations from Dio, often by book-number.

(2) Zonaras was private secretary to the emperor Alexis I. Comnenus in the early part of the twelfth century; later he retired to a monastery on Mt. Athos and devoted himself to literary labours. Among various works which he left is his Ἐπιτομὴ Ἱστοριῶν, a history of the world, in eighteen books, extending from the creation down to the death of Alexis in 1118. It has been satisfactorily shown that for Books VII–IX, in which Roman history is carried down from the landing of Aeneas to 146 B.C., his chief source was Dio, supplemented by Plutarch and

[1] There are so few fragments from Books XXX–XXXV that Boissevain attempts no division within these limits. Between Books XI and XII the proper point of division is particularly uncertain; the present translator here differs from Boissevain.

a couple of quotations from Herodotus. We are justified, therefore, in recognizing as an epitome of Dio whatever remains after the exclusion of the portions that are derivable from the other two sources. After narrating the destruction of Corinth Zonaras laments that he could find no ancient authorities for the remainder of the republican period; hence it is inferred that Books XXII–XXXV had even then been lost from all the Mss. He resumes his narration with the time of Sulla, and after relying on various lives of Plutarch for a time, finally follows Dio's account once more, beginning with Book XLIV, 3; but for the period subsequent to Domitian's death he used Dio only indirectly, through the epitome of Xiphilinus. Zonaras is therefore of great importance for Books I–XXI, and to a lesser degree for Books XLIV–LXVII, where he occasionally supplements our Mss. of Dio or the epitome of Xiphilinus. There are numerous Mss. of Zonaras, five of which are cited by Boissevain; but for the present edition it has seemed sufficient merely to indicate such readings as have the support of no Ms.

For Books LXI–LXXX our chief authority is Xiphilinus, a monk of Constantinople, who made an abridgment of Books XXXVI–LXXX at the request of the emperor Michael VII. Ducas (1071–78). Even in his time Books LXX and LXXI (Boissevain's division), containing the reign of Antoninus Pius

and the first part of that of Marcus Aurelius, had already perished. He divided his epitome into sections each containing the life of one emperor, and thus is of no authority as regards Dio's divisions; furthermore his task was very carelessly performed. The epitome is found in at least sixteen Mss.; but all the rest are derived from one or the other of two fifteenth century Mss., Vaticanus 145 and Coislinianus 320. Besides these two (abbreviated V and C), we have readings from an unknown Xiphilinus Ms. entered in L′ of Dio to fill various gaps; but the scribe of L′ dealt very freely with such passages.

Ioannes Tzetzes (twelfth century) in his farrago of historical and mythological stories now entitled *Chiliads*, from the arbitrary division of the work into sections of one thousand verses each, occasionally cites Dio among his various authorities. But he dealt very freely with his material, and it is often difficult to determine exactly how much of Dio underlies his version. The present text omits a few passages printed with some hesitation by Boissevain. Tzetzes also cites Dio a few times in his commentary on Lycophron's Alexandra. Other writers who are similarly of use in supplementing the epitomes are Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica in the twelfth century, famous for his commentary on Homer; Ioannes Antiochenus, a historian of the seventh century; Ioannes Damascenus, an ecclesiastical writer of the eighth century; Ioannes Laurentius

Lydus, of the sixth century, who wrote of the Magistrates of the Roman Republic, and Cedrenus, a historian of the eleventh century.

The present text and division into books are based on Boissevain's edition, which has been courteously placed at the disposal of the Editors by Messrs. Weidmann of Berlin. The departures from his readings are relatively few, but are not always indicated in the critical notes, as it has seemed simpler to take the Ms. reading as the standard, and merely cite such emendations as are adopted in the text. For convenience of reference the traditional divisions of Books LXI–LXXX are given in the margin; and it is by these numbers that passages are cited.

The translation is based on that of H. B. Foster (Troy, N.Y., 1905–06), the first to appear in English. At the outset it was hoped that his translation would require few changes to bring it into conformity with the Greek text here adopted; but this hope was promptly disappointed, as soon as the task of careful comparison with the original was fairly under way, by the discovery of many errors of a more or less serious nature, as well as of frequent infelicities in the English. So far as has proved possible, his words have been retained; yet the changes found to be either necessary or desirable are so numerous that the editors have decided in favour of the present wording of the title page.

MANUSCRIPTS

(*a*) There are eleven Mss. containing the larger part of Books XXXVI–LX. The two of greatest importance are:—

Laurentianus (or Mediceus) 70, 8 (L), eleventh century, containing XXXVI, 18, 1—L, 6, 2.

Marcianus (or Venetus) 395 (M), eleventh century, containing XLIV, 35, 4—LX, 28, 3; but numerous leaves and even whole quaternions have been lost.

Of importance for parts of the text where these Mss. fail are also:—

Vaticanus Graecus 144 (V), fifteenth century, containing XXXVI–LIV.

Parisinus 1689 (P), fifteenth century, containing XXXVI–LX. Used by Stephanus in his edition of 1548.

Laurentianus (or Mediceus) 70, 10 (L′), fifteenth century, containing XLII–LX.

It has been conclusively shown by Boissevain that V is a copy of L, made, however, while L was in a completer state than at present; that L′ is in the main a copy of M, but with additions from L; and that P is derived from L for the earlier books and from L′ for the later. The other six Mss., not here specified, are derivatives of P (in one case of P and M) or of V. It is clear, therefore, that only L and M are of value except where passages now lost in one or both appear in the derived Mss. Thus V and P are our only Mss. for XXXVI, 1–17; V takes the place of L for the greater part of L–LIV; and similarly L′ serves instead of M for LII, 5, 2–20, 4; LX, 17, 7–20, 2, and LX, 22, 2–26, 2, being the sole Ms. to give the last two passages. Unfortunately M has several extensive gaps in books LV–LX which cannot be filled out from the later Mss.

(*b*) The oldest Dio Ms. is now reduced to a few leaves on which are contained LXXVIII, 2, 2-LXXIX, 8, 3. This Ms. is:

Vaticanus Graecus 1288 (V′), vellum Ms. of fifth or sixth century, in uncial characters. It teems with errors, many of which, however, were corrected by a second hand, apparently with the aid of another Ms. V′ belonged to Orsini, who published the contents in 1582 (*Excerpta Ursiniana*, pp. 416–47).

(*c*) The Paris fragments.

These are found on five parchment leaves which have been used in patching up a Strabo Ms. (Parisinus 1397 A). They evidently belonged to a Ms. of Dio written about the eleventh century, and describe events of the years 207–200 B.C. (Frgs. 57, 53–60, 63-71, 76, 81, 83–86; 58, 1–6). Haase first published them in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1839, pp. 445–76.

EDITIONS

The more important editions of Dio are the following :—

1548 R. Stephanus. Editio princeps. Books XXXVI–LX. Based on a single Ms., P.

1551 R. Stephanus. Editio princeps of Xiphilinus.

1592 Leunclavius. Included *Excerpta Ursiniana.*

1750–52 Reimar. 2 vols. Based on new Mss., L and V. Notes of Reimar and various other scholars; historical notes especially valuable. Good life of Dio.

1824–25 Sturz. 8 vols. Based on Reimar's edition. For the text L was again collated, also L′. Additional notes of Reimar and Reiske. In 1843 a ninth volume was added containing the Excerpts *de Sententiis.*

1849 Bekker. Superiority of L and M clearly recognized. Valuable for Bekker's emendations.

1890–94 Melber. Latest Teubner edition. Only 2 vols. published. Zonaras (books VII–IX) first printed in connection with early fragments of Dio. Promptly superseded by the following.

1895–1901 Boissevain. 3 vols. (Weidmann). A masterly edition, complete, accurate, conservative. Based on new collations of the Mss., usually his own. Fragments of Books I–XXXV assigned to their respective books for first time in an edition and new division of Books LXI–LXXX. Valuable prefaces and appendices containing accurate description of all Mss., complete text of Xiphilinus, critical discussion of Excerpts and similar collections.

E. Schwartz in Paully-Wissowa's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, 3[2] (1899), pp. 1684–1722. By far the best general account of Dio's work. Large collection of parallels for study of sources.

H. Peter: Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die römische Kaiserzeit (2 vols., 1897). ii. 84–101; and *passim* (see index).

A. von Gutschmid: Kleine Schriften (1894), v. 547–62. First attempt to determine period covered by each of the lost books.

G. M. Columba: Cassio Dione e le guerre galliche di Cesare. Società reale di Napoli, Accad. di archeologia, lettere e belle arti. Atti, xxiii, pt. 2 (1905), pp. 1–62.

J. Will: Quae ratio intercedat inter Dionis Cassi de Caesaris bellis Gallicis narrationem et commentarios Caesaris de bello Gallico. (1901)

P. Meyer: De Maecenatis oratione a Dione ficta. (1891)

J. Bergmans: Die Quellen der Vita Tiberii des Cassius Dio. (1903)

H. Jaeger: De Cassii Dionis librorum 57. et 58. fontibus. (1910)

R. Ferwer: Die politischen Anschauungen des Cassius Dio. (1878)

E. Litsch: De Cassio Dione imitatore Thucydidis. (1893)

E. Kyhnitzsch: De contionibus quas Cassius Dio historiae suae intexuit, cum Thucydideis comparatis. (1894)

In addition to the symbols already given for the Mss. and collections of excerpts the following abbreviations are employed in the critical apparatus:—

Bk.	=	Bekker.
Bs.	=	Boissevain.
Dind.	=	Dindorf.
v. Herw.	=	von Herwerden.
Leuncl.	=	Leunclavius.
Patr.	=	Petrus Patricius.
Rk.	=	Reiske.
St.	=	Sturz.
Urs.	=	Ursinus.
Val.	=	Valesius.
Xiph.	=	Xiphilinus.
Xyl.	=	Xylander.
Zon.	=	Zonaras.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK I

1, 2 Ἀνέγνων μὲν[1] πάντα ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τισι γεγραμμένα, συνέγραψα δὲ οὐ πάντα ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐξέκρινα. μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ὅτι κεκαλλιεπημένοις, ἐς ὅσον γε καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψε,[2] λόγοις κέχρημαι, ἐς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦτό τις ὑποπτεύσῃ, ὅπερ ἐπ' ἄλλων τινῶν συμβέβηκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀμφότερα, ὡς οἷόν τε ἦν, ὁμοίως ἀκρι-
3 βῶσαι ἐσπούδασα. ἄρξομαι δὲ ὅθενπερ τὰ σαφέστατα τῶν περὶ τήνδε τὴν γῆν, ἣν κατοικοῦμεν, συμβῆναι λεγομένων παρελάβομεν.—M. 1 (p. 135).

Τὴν χώραν ταύτην, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄστυ πεπόλισται.—M. 2 (p. 135).

Zonaras 7, 1.

1. Αἰνείας μετὰ τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον ἀφῖκτο πρὸς Ἀβορρίγινας, οἳ πρῴην τὴν χώραν ᾤκουν καθ' ἣν ἡ Ῥώμη πεπόλισται, Λατίνου τοῦ Φαύνου τότε τὴν

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

Οὗτος ὁ Αἰνείας, μετὰ τὴν τῆς Τροίας ἅλωσιν, εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ὡς ἔφημεν, καὶ Λατίνους παραγίνεται.

[1] ἀνέγνων μὲν supplied by Bk. [2] ἐπέτρεψε Bk., ἐξεπέτρεψε Ms.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK I

Although I have read pretty nearly everything about them that has been written by anybody, I have not included it all in my history, but only what I have seen fit to select. I trust, moreover, that if I have used a fine style, so far as the subject matter permitted, no one will on this account question the truthfulness of the narrative, as has happened in the case of some writers; for I have endeavoured to be equally exact in both these respects, so far as possible. I will begin at the point where I have obtained the clearest accounts of what is reported to have taken place in this land which we inhabit.

This land in which the city of Rome has been built.

Zonaras 7, 1.

1. Aeneas after the Trojan war came to the Aborigines, who were the former inhabitants of the land wherein Rome has been built and who

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

This Aeneas, after the capture of Troy, came, as we have remarked, to Italy and the Latins. He

Zonaras 7, 1.

τούτων ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, καὶ προσέσχε Λαυρεντῷ κατὰ τὸν Νουμίκιον ποταμόν, ἔνθα κατά τι δὴ θεοπρόπιον λέγεται παρασκευάζεσθαι ποιήσασθαι τὴν κατοίκησιν. ὁ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων Λατῖνος ἀπεῖργε τῷ Αἰνείᾳ τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καθίδρυσιν. καὶ συμβαλὼν ἡττᾶται· εἶτα δι' ὀνειράτων φανέντων ἀμφοῖν καταλλάττονται· καὶ τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῷ παραχωρεῖ, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Λαουινίαν εἰς γάμον ἐκδίδωσιν. ἔνθα πόλιν ὁ Αἰνείας οἰκοδομήσας ὠνόμασε Λαουίνιον· ἥ τε χώρα Λάτιον ἐπεκλήθη καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ἐκεῖ Λατῖνοι προσηγορεύθησαν.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

περὶ Λαύρεντον δὲ προσώκειλε τὸ καὶ Τροίαν καλούμενον, περὶ Νουμίκιον ποταμόν, ἔχων καὶ τὸν ἐκ Κρεούσης υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀσκάνιον ἢ Ἶλον· ὅπου φαγόντων τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ τὰς τραπέζας σελινίνας οὔσας, ἢ ἐκ τῶν σκληροτέρων μερῶν τῶν ἄρτων (οὐ γὰρ εἶχον τραπέζας), ἔτι δὲ καὶ χοίρου λευκῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου αὐτοῦ ἀποσκιρτησάσης ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὠνομασμένον Ἀλβανὸν ὄρος καὶ τριάκοντα τετοκυίας, ἅπερ ἐδήλουν ὅτι τριακοστῷ ἔτει οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ γῆν καὶ κράτος ἄμεινον ἕξουσιν, ἐπαύθη τῆς ἀλητείας, ἐκ χρησμοῦ τοῦτο προακηκοώς, θύσας δὲ καὶ τὴν χοῖρον παρεσκευάζετο κτίζειν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ Λατῖνος τοῦτον οὐκ εἴα· ἡττηθεὶς δὲ πολέμῳ δίδωσιν Αἰνείᾳ πρὸς γάμον Λαβινίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα. Αἰνείας δὲ κτίσας πόλιν Λαβινίαν ὠνόμασε.

Zonaras 7, 1.

were at that time ruled by Latinus, the son of Faunus. He came ashore at Laurentum, by the mouth of the river Numicius, where in obedience to some oracle he is said to have made preparations to dwell. The ruler of the land, Latinus, tried to prevent his settling in the land, and joined in battle with him, but was defeated. Then, as the result of dreams that appeared to both leaders, they effected a reconciliation, and Latinus both granted the other a settlement there and gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Thereupon Aeneas founded a city, which he named Lavinium; and the country was called Latium, and the people there were termed Latins.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

landed near Laurentum, called also Troy, near the River Numicius, along with his son by Creusa—Ascanius or Ilus. There his followers ate their tables, which were of parsley or of the harder portions of bread loaves; for they had no real tables. Furthermore, a white sow leaped from his boat and running to the Alban mount, named after her, gave birth to a litter of thirty, which indicated that in the thirtieth year his children should get fuller possession of both land and sovereignty. Since he had heard of these portents beforehand from an oracle he ceased his wanderings, sacrificed the sow, and prepared to found a city. Latinus would not allow him to do this; but after being defeated in war, he gave Aeneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Aeneas then founded a city and called it Lavinium.

2, 4 Ὅτι περὶ Τυρσηνῶν φησιν ὁ Δίων "ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ προσῆκεν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου περὶ αὐτῶν γεγράφθαι· ἑτέρωθι καὶ ἄλλο τι καὶ αὖθις αὖ ἕτερον, ὅτῳ ποτ' ἂν ἡ διέξοδος τῆς συγγραφῆς τὸ ἀεὶ παρὸν[1] εὐτρεπίζουσα προστύχῃ, κατὰ καιρὸν εἰρήσεται. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων

Zonaras 7, 1.

Ῥουτοῦλοι δὲ ὁμοροῦντες τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκ πόλεως Ἀρδέας ὁρμώμενοι, καὶ πρόσθεν δυσμενῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς Λατίνους, καὶ τότε πόλεμον ἤραντο, ἐπαρήγοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ Τούρνου ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ τῷ Λατίνῳ προσήκοντος, ὃς δι' ὀργῆς τὸν Λατῖνον πεποίητο διὰ τὸν Λαουινίας γάμον· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἡ κόρη προωμολόγητο. μάχης οὖν γενομένης πίπτουσιν ὅ τε Τοῦρνος καὶ ὁ Λατῖνος, τὴν δὲ νίκην ὁ Αἰνείας κεκόμιστο καὶ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ βασιλείαν. μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον συμμαχίας ἐκ Τυρσηνῶν οἱ Ῥουτοῦλοι τυχόντες ἐπῆλθον τῷ Αἰνείᾳ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον νενικήκασιν. ἀφανὴς δὲ

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

Λατίνου δὲ καὶ Τύρνου τοῦ Ῥουτούλων βασιλέως πολέμῳ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποθανόντων Αἰνείας ἐβασίλευσεν. ἀνῃρημένου δὲ καὶ Αἰνείου πολέμῳ ἐν Λαυρέντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Ῥουτούλων καὶ Μαζεντίου τοῦ Τυρρηνοῦ, ἐγκύου οὔσης τῆς Αἰνείου γυναικὸς Λαβινίας τὸν Σίλβιον, Ἀσκάνιος ὁ ἐκ Κρεούσης

[1] ἀεὶ παρὸν Bk., λιπαρὸν Ms.

BOOK I

Concerning the Etruscans Dio says: "These facts about them have properly been recorded at this point in the story; elsewhere still other facts will be mentioned from time to time, in their proper places, whenever the course of the history, in setting forth the successive incidents, shall involve them. And this same principle must suffice also in

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Zonaras 7, 1.

But the Rutuli, who occupied adjoining territory, had been previously hostile to the Latins, and now, setting out from the city of Ardea, they made war upon them. They had the support of Turnus, a distinguished man and a relative of Latinus, who had become angry with the latter because of Lavinia's marriage, for it was to him that the maiden had originally been promised. A battle took place, Turnus and Latinus both fell, and Aeneas gained the victory and his father-in-law's kingdom as well. After a time, however, the Rutuli secured the Etruscans as allies and marched against Aeneas; and in this war they won. But Aeneas

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

Now Latinus and Turnus, king of the Rutuli, perished in war at each other's hands, whereupon Aeneas became king. And when Aeneas also had been killed in war at Laurentum by the same Rutuli and Mezentius the Etruscan, while Lavinia his wife was pregnant of Silvius, Ascanius the son of

τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀρκούντως ἐχέτω·[1] τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντα κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπέξειμι, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν τὰ πρόσφορα αὐτοῖς μόνα γεγράψεται."
—M. 3 (p. 136).

Zonaras 7, 1.

ὁ Αἰνείας γενόμενος, οὔτε γὰρ ζῶν ὤφθη ἔτι οὔτε μὴν τεθνεώς, ὡς θεὸς παρὰ Λατίνοις τετίμητο.. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ σφετέρου γένους ἀρχηγέτης νενόμισται καὶ Αἰνειάδαι καλεῖσθαι αὐχοῦσι. τὴν δὲ τῶν Λατίνων ἀρχὴν ὁ ἐκείνου υἱὸς Ἀσκάνιος διεδέξατο, ὃς οἴκοθεν συνείπετο τῷ πατρί· οὐδέπω γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Λαουινίας παῖδα ἐγείνατο, ἔγκυον δ' αὐτὴν καταλέλοιπε. τὸν δὲ Ἀσκάνιον κατακλείσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπολιόρκουν· νυκτὸς δ' οἱ Λατῖνοι αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενοι τήν τε πολιορκίαν ἔλυσαν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

Χρόνου δὲ διεληλυθότος πληθυνθέντες οἱ Λατῖνοι τὴν μὲν πόλιν τὸ Λαουίνιον οἱ πλείονες ἐκλελοίπασιν, ἑτέραν δ' ἐν ἀμείνονι χώρῳ ἀντῳκοδόμησαν,

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

παῖς βασιλεύει, ὃς καὶ τὸν Μαζέντιον πολέμῳ συμβαλόντα νικᾷ τελέως, μὴ δεχόμενον τὰς πρεσβείας ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ Λατίνου πάντα εἰς ἐτήσιον δασμὸν ζητοῦντα. αὐξηθέντες δὲ οἱ Λατῖνοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἐνέστη, Λαβινίας μὲν ὑπερεφρόνησαν, Ἄλβαν δὲ Λόγγαν ἑτέραν πόλιν ἔκτισαν ἀπὸ τῆς χοίρου, τουτέστι λευκὴν μακρά

[1] ἐχέτω Bk., ἔχοντες Ms.

the case of other essential facts. For, while I shall recount the history of the Romans in full, to the best of my ability, outside of that only what has a bearing on their affairs will be recorded.

Zonaras 7, 1.

vanished from sight, being seen no more alive or dead, and he was honoured as a god among the Latins. Hence he was regarded by the Romans also as the founder of their race and they take pride in being called "Sons of Aeneas." The sovereignty over the Latins descended to his son Ascanius, who had accompanied his father from home; Aeneas had not yet had a child by Lavinia, though he left her pregnant. Ascanius was surrounded and besieged by the enemy, but by night the Latins attacked them and ended both the siege and the war.

As time went on the Latins multiplied and the majority of them abandoned Lavinium and built another town in a better location. To it they gave

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

Creusa became king. He completely conquered Mezentius, who, after steadily refusing to receive his embassies and seeking to subject all of Latinus' dependencies to an annual tribute, had finally engaged him in battle. When the Latins had waxed strong and moreover the thirtieth year was now at hand, they scorned Lavinium and founded a second city, named from the sow Alba Longa (i.e.

Zonaras 7, 1.

ἣν Ἄλβαν ἐκ τῆς λευκότητος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ μήκους Λόγγαν ἐπωνόμασαν· εἴποιεν ἂν Ἕλληνες λευκὴν καὶ μακράν. Ἀσκανίου δὲ τελευτήσαντος οἱ Λατῖνοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς Λαουινίας τεχθέντα τῷ Αἰνείᾳ υἱὸν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν προετιμήσαντο τοῦ Ἀσκανίου παιδός, διὰ τὸν πάππον τὸν Λατῖνον τοῦτον προκρίναντες, Σίλουιον κεκλημένον. ἐκ Σιλουίου δὲ Αἰνείας ἐτέχθη, ἐξ Αἰνείου δὲ Λατῖνος ἐγένετο, Λατῖνον δὲ διεδέξατο Πάστις. Τιβερῖνος δ' ἄρξας μετέπειτα ἐν ποταμῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀλβούλῳ πεσὼν διεφθάρη· ὃς δὴ ποταμὸς Τίβερις ἐξ ἐκείνου μετωνομάσθη, ῥέων διὰ τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ ὢν τῇ πόλει πολυαρκέστατος καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὰ μάλιστα χρησιμώτατος. ἔκγονος δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίνου Ἀμούλιος ὃς ὑπερφρονήσας καὶ θεοῦν ἑαυτὸν τολμήσας, ὡς βροντάς τε ταῖς βρονταῖς ἐκ μηχανῆς ἀντεπάγειν καὶ ἀνταστράπτειν ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ἐνσκήπτειν τε κεραυνούς, διεφθάρη, τῆς λίμνης παρ' ᾗ τὰ αὐτοῦ βασίλεια ἵδρυτο ἐπιρρυείσης αἰφνίδιον καὶ καταποντισάσης κἀκεῖνον καὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Ἀουεντῖνος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπέθανε.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ὄρος Ἀλβανὸν ἐκάλεσαν ὁμοίως· τὰ δὲ ἐκ Τροίας ἀγάλματα μόνα πρὸς τὸ Λαβίνιον δεύτερον ὑπεστράφησαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀσκανίου τελευτὴν οὐχ ὁ αὐτοῦ παῖς Ἰοῦλος ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐκ Λαβινίας Αἰνείου υἱὸς Σίλβιος, ἤ κατά τινας Ἀσκανίου υἱὸς Σίλβιος. Σιλβίου πάλιν Αἰνείας, οὗ Λατῖνος, οὗ Κάπης, Κάπητος[1] δὲ παῖς Τιβερῖνος. οὗ Ἀμύλιος, οὗ Ἀβεντῖνος.

[1] Κάπητος ABb, κάπυος a.

BOOK I

Zonaras 7, 1.

the name of Alba from its whiteness and from its length they called it Longa. Upon the death of Ascanius they chose as king the son born to Aeneas by Lavinia rather than the son of Ascanius, the reason for their preference being that Latinus was the former's grandfather. The new king's name was Silvius. And Silvius begat Aeneas, from Aeneas sprang Latinus, and Latinus was succeeded by Pastis. Tiberinus, who next became ruler, lost his life by falling into a river called the Albula. It was this river that was renamed the Tiber after him. Flowing through Rome, it serves many purposes of the city and is in the highest degree useful to the Romans. Amulius, a descendant of Tiberinus, displayed an overweening pride and dared to make himself a god; he went so far as to match the thunder with artificial thunder, to answer lightning with lightning, and to hurl thunderbolts. He met his end by the sudden overflow of the lake beside which his palace was built; it submerged both him and his palace. But Aventinus his son perished in warfare.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

"long white"), and likewise called the mountain the Alban mount. But the images brought along from Troy twice returned to Lavinium all by themselves. After the death of Ascanius it was not his son Iulus who became king, but Silvius, the son of Aeneas by Lavinia—or, according to some, Ascanius' son Silvius. Silvius begat another Aeneas, whose son was Latinus, whose son was Capys; Capys had a son Tiberinus, whose son was Amulius, whose son was Aventinus.

5, 1 Ἔδει δὲ[1] (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὔτε προϊδέσθαι πάντα ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι οὔτ' ἀποτροπὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίως ἐσομένων εὑρεῖν) τιμωρούς τινας τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς κόρης ἐκείνης γεννηθῆναι.—M. 4 (p. 136).

Zonaras 7, 1.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ Λαουινίου καὶ Ἀλβανῶν· τὰ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐσχήκασι τὸν Νομίτορά τε καὶ τὸν Ἀμούλιον, οἱ Ἀουεντίνου μὲν ἐγένοντο υἱωνοί, τοῦ δ' Αἰνείου ἀπόγονοι.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

Μέχρι τούτου τὰ περὶ Ἄλβης καὶ Ἀλβανῶν. τὰ δὲ περὶ Ῥώμης ἐντεῦθεν. Ἀβεντῖνος γεννᾷ Νομήτορα καὶ Ἀμούλιον, ἢ κατά τινας τὸν Πρόκαν. τοῦ Πρόκα δὲ τούτου λέγουσι παῖδας τοῦτον τὸν Νομήτορα καὶ Ἀμούλιον. βασιλεύοντα δὲ τὸν Νομήτορα ὁ Ἀμούλιος ἐξήλασε, καὶ Αἰγέστην τὸν Νομήτορος υἱὸν ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ ἀναιρεῖ, τὴν δὲ ἀδελφὴν Αἰγέστου, θυγατέρα δὲ τοῦ προρρηθέντος Νομήτορος, Σιλουίαν ἢ Ῥέαν Ἰλίαν ἱέρειαν τῆς θεᾶς Ἑστίας ποιεῖ, ὡς ἂν παρθένος διαμείνῃ· ἐδεδίει γάρ τινα χρησμὸν λέγοντα ὑπὸ τῶν Νομήτορος παίδων αὐτὸν ἀναιρεθῆναι. διά τοι τοῦτο τὸν μὲν Αἰγέστην ἀνεῖλε, τὴν δὲ ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἑστίας ἐποίησεν, ὅπως παρθένος καὶ ἄπαις διαμείνῃ. ἡ δὲ ἐν Ἄρεος ἄλσει ὑδρευομένη ἔγκυος γίνεται, καὶ γεννᾷ Ῥωμύλον καὶ Ῥῶμον. καὶ τήνδε μὲν ἐξαιτεῖταί μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἡ τοῦ Ἀμου-

[1] ἔδει δὲ supplied by Bk.

BOOK I

It is impossible for mortal man either to foresee all that is to happen or to find a way of turning aside the inevitable: of this very maiden [Rhea Silvia] were to be born the avengers of his crime.

Zonaras 7, 1.

So much for Lavinium and the Albans. But the history of the Romans begins with Numitor and Amulius, who were grandsons of Aventinus and descendants of Aeneas.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

So much regarding Alba and the Albans; the story of Rome now begins. Aventinus begat Numitor and Amulius,—or Procas, according to some; and this man's sons, they say, were the aforesaid Numitor and Amulius. Numitor while king was driven out by Amulius, who killed Numitor's son Aegestes on a hunting party and made Silvia, or Rhea Ilia, the sister of Aegestes, and daughter of the aforesaid Numitor, a priestess of Vesta, so that she might remain a virgin. For he stood in dread of an oracle which declared that he should be slain by the children of Numitor. It was for this reason that he killed Aegestes and made his sister priestess of Vesta, that she might continue a virgin and childless. But she while drawing water in Mars' grove conceived, and bore Romulus and Remus. The daughter of Amulius by her entreaties saved her from being put

Zonaras 7, 3.

Ὀκτωκαίδεκα δ' εἶναι ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐνιαυτῶν ἀναγέγραπται ὅτε τὴν Ῥώμην συνῴκισεν. ἔκτισε δὲ αὐτὴν περὶ τὴν τοῦ Φαυστούλου οἴκησιν· ὠνόμαστο δ' ὁ χῶρος Παλάτιον.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

λίου θυγάτηρ, τὰ δὲ βρέφη Φαιστύλῳ ποιμένι, Λαυρεντίας ἀνδρί, ἔδοντο ῥῖψαι περὶ τὸν Τίβεριν ποταμόν. ἃ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ λαβοῦσα ἀνέτρεφεν· ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτὴν τότε νεκρὸν βρέφος τεκεῖν. αὐξηθέντες δὲ ὁ Ῥωμύλος καὶ ὁ Ῥῶμος ἐποίμαινον κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Ἀμουλίου ἀγρούς, ἀνελόντες δέ τινας τῶν τοῦ πάππου Νομήτορος ποιμένων ἐπετηροῦντο. κατασχεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥώμου δραμὼν ὁ Ῥωμύλος τῷ Φαιστύλῳ λέγει, καὶ ὃς δραμὼν τῷ Νομήτορι πάντα διηγεῖται. τέλος ἔγνω Νομήτωρ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ παῖδας ὄντας αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ συναραμένων πολλῶν ἀναιροῦσι τὸν Ἀμούλιον, τῷ δὲ Νομήτορι πάππῳ αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Ἄλβης παρασχόντες αὐτοὶ τὴν Ῥώμην κτίζειν ἀπήρξαντο ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ῥωμύλου ἡλικίας . . . ἣν ἔκτισε Ῥωμύλος περὶ τὴν Φαιστύλου οἰκίαν ἐν ὄρει Παλατίῳ . . .

Eustathius in Odyss., p. 1961, 13–16.

Ἐν οἷς καὶ οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔξαρχοι κατὰ Δίωνα, Ῥῶμος δηλαδὴ καὶ Ῥωμύλος, οὓς ἐθήλασε λύκαινα, ἡ παρὰ Ἰταλιώταις λοῦπα· ὃ δὴ ὄνομα μετῆκται ἀστείως εἰς ἑταιρίδων προσηγορίαν.

BOOK I

Zonaras 7, 3.

Romulus has been described as eighteen years old when he joined in settling Rome. He founded it around the dwelling of Faustulus; the place had been named Palatium. B.C. 753

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

to death, but the babes were given to Faustulus, a shepherd, husband of Laurentia, to be exposed beside the river Tiber. These the shepherd's wife took and reared; for it happened that she had at that time borne a dead child. When Romulus and Remus were grown they kept flocks in the fields of Amulius, but as they killed some of the shepherds of their grandfather Numitor a watch was set for them. When Remus was arrested, Romulus ran and told Faustulus, and he ran and related the whole story to Numitor. Finally Numitor recognized them as his own daughter's children. They with the assistance of many others killed Amulius, and after bestowing the kingdom of Alba on their grandfather Numitor made a beginning themselves of founding Rome in the eighteenth year of Romulus' life. [But prior to this great Rome,] which Romulus founded on the Palatine mount near the dwelling of Faustulus, [another Rome in the form of a square had been founded by a Romulus and Remus more ancient than these.]

Eustathius in Odyss., p. 1961, 13-16.

Among these [i.e., children suckled by animals], according to Dio, were also the founders of Rome (that is to say, Remus and Romulus), who were suckled by a wolf, called by the Italians *lupa*; this name has been aptly applied as a term for courtesans.

3 Ὅτι στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ῥέμος καὶ Ῥωμύλος ἔκδηλον ἐποίησαν ὅτι τινὲς καὶ πάνυ ἀσφαλέστερον τοὺς κινδύνους τῶν εὐτυχιῶν συνδιαφέρουσιν.—M. 5 (p. 136).

4 Καὶ αὐτοί τε ἐξέμαθον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξεδίδαξαν ὅτι οὔθ' οἱ τιμωρούμενοί τινας κατορθοῦσι πάντως, ὅτι προηδίκηνται, οὔθ' οἱ παρὰ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀπαιτοῦντές τινα ἀπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτά, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσαπολλύουσιν.—M. 6 (p. 136).

5 Ὅτι ἡ Ἑρσιλία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι αἱ ὁμόφυλοι γυναῖκες τηρήσασαί ποτε ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους σφᾶς κατέδραμον ἀπὸ τοῦ Παλατίου μετὰ τῶν

Zonaras 7, 3.

. . . περί τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ μάχης ἐχώρησαν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Ῥῶμος ἀπέθανεν. . . . ὅθεν καὶ ἐνομίσθη τὸν στρατοπέδου τάφρον τολμήσαντα διελθεῖν παρὰ τὰς συνήθεις ὁδοὺς θανατοῦσθαι.

Ἐκείνη γὰρ ἐφ' ὕδωρ κατελθοῦσα συνελήφθη καὶ ἤχθη πρὸς Τάτιον καὶ ἀνεπείσθη προδοῦναι τὸ ἔρυμα.

Tzetzes, Chil. 5, 21, vs. 109 sq.

Δίων καὶ Διονύσιος γράφουσι τὰ τοῦ Κάκου | ἄλλοι πολλοί τε συγγραφεῖς, γράφοντες τὰ τῆς Ῥώμης.

Romulus and Remus by their mutual strife made it plain that some go through dangers together with far less risk than through prosperity.

They themselves[1] learned well and taught others the lesson that those who seek to avenge their wrongs are not invariably successful merely because they have first suffered injury, and that those who make demands on stronger men do not necessarily get what they demand, but often lose even what they had before.

Hersilia and the rest of the women of her kin, on discovering them one day drawn up in opposing ranks, ran down from the Palatine with their

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Zonaras 7, 3.

[Romulus and Remus disputed] about the sovereignty and the city, and they got into a conflict in which Remus was killed. . . . From this incident arose the custom of putting to death one who dared to cross the trench of a camp by any other than the regular passage-ways.

When she [Tarpeia] went down for water she was seized and brought to Tatius, and was induced to betray the citadel.

Tzetzes, Chil. 5, 21, v. 109 f.

Dio and Dionysius record the story of Cacus, and so do many other historians of Rome.

[1] The Caeninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates. Cf. Livy 1, 10, 11.

παιδίων (ἤδη γάρ τινα ἐγεγέννητο) καὶ ἐς τὸ
μεταίχμιον ἐξαπίνης ἐσπεσοῦσαι πολλὰ καὶ οἰ-
κτρὰ καὶ εἶπον καὶ ἐποίησαν· τοτὲ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς
τούτους τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνους βλέπουσαι "τί
ταῦτα" ἔφασαν "ποιεῖτε, πατέρες; τί ταῦτα,
6 ἄνδρες; μέχρι ποῦ μαχεῖσθε; μέχρι ποῦ μισήσετε
ἀλλήλους; καταλλάγητε τοῖς γαμβροῖς, καταλ-
λάγητε τοῖς πενθεροῖς. φείσασθε πρὸς τοῦ Πανὸς
τῶν τέκνων, φείσασθε πρὸς τοῦ Κυρίνου τῶν
ἐκγόνων. ἐλεήσατε τὰς θυγατέρας, ἐλεήσατε τὰς
γυναῖκας· ὡς εἴγε ἀκαταλλάκτως ἔχετε καί τις
ὑμᾶς σκηπτὸς μανίας ἐσπεσὼν οἰστρεῖ, ἡμᾶς τε
δι' ἃς μάχεσθε προαποκτείνατε, καὶ τὰ παιδία
ταῦτα ἃ μισεῖτε προαποσφάξατε, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔτι
μήτ' ὄνομα μήτε σύνδεσμον συγγενείας πρὸς ἀλ-
λήλους ἔχοντες κερδάνητε τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν,
τὸ τούς τε πάππους τῶν παίδων καὶ τοὺς πατέρας
7 τῶν ἐκγόνων φονεύειν." ταῦτά τε ἔλεγον καὶ τὰ
ἱμάτια καταρρηξάμεναι, τούς τε μαστοὺς καὶ τὰς
γαστέρας γυμνώσασαι, αἱ μὲν αὐταὶ τοῖς ξίφεσί
σφων ἐνεχρίμπτοντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτοῖς
προσερρίπτουν, ὥστε ἐκείνους καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἤκουον καὶ
ἐξ ὧν ἑώρων κλαῦσαι καὶ τῆς τε μάχης ἐπισχεῖν
καὶ ἐς λόγους αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ εἶχον, ἐν τῷ κομιτίῳ
δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κληθέντι συνελθεῖν.—M. 7 (p. 137).

10 Πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρει ἐκ καινῆς τινας καταστα-
θῆναι ἢ καὶ πρότερον οὔσας ἐπικληθῆναι.—M. 8
(p. 137).

children,—for some children had already been born,—and rushing suddenly into the space between the armies said and did many things to arouse pity. Looking now at the one side and now at the other they cried: "Why do you do this, fathers? Why do you do it, husbands? When will you cease fighting? When will you cease hating each other? Make peace with your sons-in-law! Make peace with your fathers-in-law! For Pan's sake spare your children! For Quirinus' sake spare your grandchildren! Pity your daughters, pity your wives! But if you are indeed irreconcilable and some bolt of madness has fallen upon your heads and drives you to frenzy, then first kill us on account of whom you are fighting, and first slay these children whom you hate, that with no longer any name or bond of kinship between you you may avoid the greatest of evils—the slaying of the grandsires of your children and the fathers of your grandchildren." With these words they tore open their garments and bared their breasts and bellies, while some pressed themselves against the men's swords and others threw their children against them. Moved by what they heard and saw the men began to weep, and they desisted from battle and came together for a conference there, just as they were, in the *comitium*, which received its name from this very event.

There is a great difference between establishing new ones[1] and renaming those already in existence.

[1] Perhaps a reference to the *curiae*; cf. Livy 1, 13.

11 Ὅτι ὁ Ῥωμύλος πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν τραχύτερον διέκειτο καὶ τυραννικώτερον αὐτῇ προσεφέρετο, καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους τοῖς Οὐηιένταις[1] ἀπέδωκε[2] καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης, ὥσπερ τὰ πολλὰ ἐγίγνετο· ἀγανακτοῦντάς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ αἰσθόμενος ἄλλα τε ἐπαχθῆ διελέχθη[3] καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ὅτι "ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς, ὦ πατέρες, ἐξελεξάμην οὐχ ἵνα ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ ἄρχητε, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐπιτάττοιμι."—M. 9 (p. 138).

Labbaeus, Veteres glossae verborum iuris, p. 123.

Τρισχίλιοι γὰρ ὄντες ὁπλῖται Ῥωμύλου, ὥς φησι Δίων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ[4] λόγῳ τῆς ἱστορίας, εἰς τρεῖς ἐνεμήθησαν[5] μοίρας κληθείσας τρίβους, τοῦτ' ἔστι τριττύας, ἃς καὶ φυλὰς ὠνόμασαν Ἕλληνες. ἑκάστη δὲ τριττὺς εἰς δέκα διῃρέθη κουρίας ἤτοι φροντιστήρια. κοῦρα μὲν γὰρ ἡ φροντὶς λέγεται, καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ κουρίαν συνιόντες οἱ εἰς αὐτὴν τεταγμένοι[6] τινὰ τῶν καθηκόντων ἐξεφρόντιζον.

Ioann. Laur. Lyd., De magistr. rei publ. Rom. 1, 7.

Τῷ γε μὴν Ῥωμύλῳ καὶ στέφανος ἦν καὶ σκῆπτρον ἀετὸν ἔχον ἐπ' ἄκρου καὶ φαινόλης λευκὸς ποδήρης, ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων ἔμπροσθεν μέχρι ποδῶν πορφυροῖς ὑφάσμασιν ῥεραβδωμένος . . . καὶ ὑπόδημα φοινικοῦν . . . κατὰ τὸν Κοκκήιον.

Zonaras 7, 4.

Καὶ πεδίλοις ἐκέχρητο ἐρυθροῖς.

1 Οὐηιένταις Bs., βιένταις Ms. 2 ἀπέδωκε supplied by Mai.
3 διελέχθη supplied by Bs. 4 πρώτῳ Val., προτέρῳ Labb.
5 ἐνεμήθησαν Val., ἐνεμήθη Labb.
6 τεταγμένοι Val., τεταλμένοι Labb.

Romulus assumed a rather harsh attitude toward the senate and behaved toward it much like a tyrant; he returned the hostages of the Veientes on his own responsibility and not by common consent, as was usually done. When he perceived that they were vexed as this he made a number of unpleasant remarks, and finally said: "I have chosen you, Fathers, not that you may rule me, but that I might have you to command."

Labbaeus, Veteres glossae verborum iuris, p. 123.

The heavy-armed troops of Romulus, three thousand in number, as Dio tells us in the first portion of his history, were divided into three bodies called *tribus*, i.e., *trittyes* [thirds], which the Greeks also termed *phylai*. Each *trittys* was divided into ten *curiae*, or "thinking bodies" (for *cura* means thought); and the men severally met by *curiae*, according as they had been assigned, and thought out the business in hand.

Ioann. Laur. Lyd., De magistr. rei publ. Rom. 1, 7.

Romulus had a crown and a sceptre with an eagle on the top and a white cloak reaching to the feet and striped with purple breadths from the shoulders to the feet . . . and a scarlet shoe . . . according to Cocceius.

Zonaras 7, 4.

And he wore red shoes.

12 Δίων α' "οὕτω που φύσει πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον οὐ φέρει πρός τε τοῦ ὁμοίου καὶ τοῦ συνήθους, τὰ μὲν φθόνῳ τὰ δὲ καταφρονήσει αὐτοῦ, ἀρχόμενον."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 164, 15.

Ioann. Antioch., fr. 32 M.

Ὅτι Ῥωμύλος βασιλεύσας διετέλει εἰς μὲν τοὺς πολέμους διαπρέπων, εἰς δὲ τοὺς πολίτας ὑπερφρονῶν καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς ἐξέχοντας. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ στρατευομένοις προσφιλὴς ἦν καὶ χώρας αὐτοῖς νέμων καὶ τῶν λαφύρων διδούς· πρὸς δὲ τὴν γερουσίαν οὐχ ὁμοίως διέκειτο· ὅθεν μισήσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ περιέχοντες ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ δημηγοροῦντα διεσπάραξάν τε καὶ διέφθειραν. Συνήρατο δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ λαθεῖν ζάλη μεγίστη τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ ἔκλειψις ἡλίου, ὅπερ που καὶ ὡς ἐγεννᾶτο γέγονεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ῥωμύλος αὐταρχήσας ζ' καὶ λ' ἔτη τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος. ἀφανισθέντος τε οὕτως αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται μάλιστα ἐκεῖνον ἐζήτουν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν μήτε ἐξειπεῖν τὸ πραχθὲν ἔχοντες μήτε βασιλέα καταστῆσαι δυνάμενοι. ταρασσομένων οὖν αὐτῶν καί τι παρασκευαζομένων δρᾶσαι Ἰούλιός τις Πρόκλος, ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς,[1] στειλάμενος ὡς καὶ ἑτέρωθέν ποθεν ἥκων, εἰσεπήδησεν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ ἔφη· "μὴ λυπεῖσθε Κυιρῖται· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς τὸν Ῥωμύλον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνιόντα εἶδον. καὶ

[1] Cf. τις τῶν ἱππέων ("one of the knights") in Zonaras' account, otherwise taken from Plutarch.

Dio, Book I. "So, no doubt, it is ordered by Nature that whatever is human shall not submit to be ruled by that which is like it and familiar to it, partly through jealousy, partly through contempt of it."

Ioann. Antioch., fr. 32 M.

Romulus, after assuming the royal power over the Romans, distinguished himself uniformly in warfare, but was ever haughty toward the citizens and particularly toward the leaders of the senate. Toward the soldiers who shared in his expeditions he was kindly disposed, assigning them lands and also giving them a part of the spoils; but toward the senate his attitude was very different. As a result the latter hated him, and surrounding him as he was delivering a speech in the senate-house they rent him limb from limb and so slew him. They were favoured in their desire for concealment by a violent wind storm and an eclipse of the sun,—the same sort of phenomenon that had attended his birth. Such was the end of B.C. 716 Romulus, after he had held absolute sway for thirty-seven years. Now when he had thus disappeared, the multitude and the soldiery made diligent search for him; but his slayers were in a dilemma, unable either to declare their deed or to appoint another king. While the people were thus excited and were planning to take some action, a certain Julius Proclus, a knight, having arrayed himself as if he were just returning from somewhere, rushed into their midst and cried: "Grieve not, Quirites! I have myself beheld Romulus ascending to the sky.

13 αʹ βιβλίῳ Δίων "ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παραβαλλόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκινδύνευσεν." —Bekk. Anecd. p. 165, 27.

6, 2 Ὅτι ὁ Νουμᾶς ᾤκει ἐν κολωνῷ τῷ Κυριναλίῳ ὠνομασμένῳ ἅτε καὶ Σαβῖνος ὤν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἀρχεῖα ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ εἶχε, καὶ τάς τε διατριβὰς πλησίον τοῦ Ἑστιαίου ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν.—V. 1 (p. 569).

1, 1 Ὁ δὲ Δίων φησὶν ὅτι σπουδὴν ἔχω συγγράψαι πάνθ' ὅσα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ εἰρηνοῦσι καὶ πολεμοῦσι ἀξίως μνήμης ἐπράχθη, ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν

Ioann. Antioch., fr. 32 M.

μοι ἔφη εἰπεῖν τε ὑμῖν ὅτι θεὸς ἐγένετο καὶ ὅτι Κυιρῖνος ὀνομάζεται καὶ προσπαραινέσαι ὑμῖν βασιλέα τε πάντως εὐθὺς ἑλέσθαι τινὰ καὶ τούτῳ πολιτεύματι κεχρῆσθαι." λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἅπαντες ἐπίστευσαν καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς ἀπεπαύσαντο· εὐθέως τε ναὸν Κυιρίνῳ ᾠκοδόμησαν καὶ πᾶσι μὲν ἐδόκει βασιλεύεσθαι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὡμοφρόνουν· οἵ τε γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν Σαβίνων προσοικισθέντες ἑκάτεροι ἐξ ἑαυτῶν βασιλέα γενέσθαι ἠξίουν· ἐκ τούτου τε ἀναρχία συνέβαινεν. ἐνιαυτὸν γοῦν ὅλον ἡ σύγκλητος τὸ κῦρος τῶν κοινῶν εἶχε πραγμάτων, πενθήμερον ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς κατανέμουσα, οὓς μεσοβασιλεῖς ὠνόμασεν.

Dio, Book I. "When, at the risk not only of his safety but even of his life, he encountered danger in your behalf." [1]

Numa dwelt on the hill called Quirinal, because was he a Sabine, but he had his official residence on the Sacred Way; he used to spend his time near the temple of Vesta, although occasionally he would remain in the country.

Dio says: "It is my desire to write a history of all the memorable achievements of the Romans, as well in time of peace as in war, so that no one, whether

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Ioann. Antioch., fr. 32 M.

He bade me tell you that he has become a god and is called Quirinus and also bade me admonish you by all means to choose someone as king without delay, and to continue to live under this form of government." At this announcement all believed and were relieved of their disquietude. They straightway built a temple to Quirinus, and unanimously decided to continue to be ruled by a king; but here their accord ended. The original Roman element and the Sabines who had settled among them each demanded that the king be chosen from their own ranks, with the result that the state was left without a ruler. For a whole year, accordingly, the senate exercised the supreme power, assigning the command for five days at a time to the most distinguished senators in rotation; these were called *interreges*.

[1] von Gutschmid believes this may have been said of Romulus.

ἀναγκαίων μήτε ἐκείνων τινὰ μήτε τῶν ἄλλων ποθῆσαι.—V. 2 (p. 569).

6, 3 *Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὲν ὁμοφυές σφισι καὶ σύννομον ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ὡς μηδὲν βέλτιον ἑαυτῶν*[1] *ὂν ποιουμένους, τὸ δὲ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀλλοῖον ὡς καὶ κρεῖσσον πίστει τοῦ θείου θεραπεύοντας, χωρίον τέ τι ταῖς* Μούσαις *ἱέρωσεν* . . .—M. 10 (p. 138).

4 *Δίων α' βιβλίῳ* "*ταῦτά τε οὖν ὁ* Νουμᾶς *ἐνόμισεν.*"—Bekk. Anecd. p. 158, 23.

Suidas, s.v. Νουμᾶς.

Καὶ *τοὺς λεγομένους ποντίφικας καὶ φλαμινίους τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπέστησε,* Σαλίους *τε τοὺς τὴν ὄρχησιν ἀσκήσοντας·*[2] *τάς τε* Ἑστιάδας *παρθένους τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ἐπέτρεψεν· αἳ τὴν μὲν ἄκραν τιμὴν παρὰ* Ῥωμαίοις *εἶχον, διὰ βίου δὲ τὴν παρθενίαν ἐφύλαττον· κἂν τις αὐτῶν ἠνδρώθη κατεχώννυντο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ μύρῳ οὐκ ἄνθεσιν οὐχ ἱματίῳ χρῆσθαι συνεχωροῦντο πλὴν λευκοῦ.*

Cedrenus I, p. 259 f. (Bekk.).

Καὶ *τὰς* Ἑστιάδας *παρθένους τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ἐπέτρεψεν αἳ διὰ τοῦ βίου τὴν παρθενίαν ἐφύλαττον· εἰ δὲ μή, λίθοις κατεχώννυντο.* . . .

[1] *ἑαυτῶν* Mai, *ἑαυτὸν* Ms.
[2] *ἀσκήσοντας* Bernhardy, *ἀσκήσαντας* Ms.

Roman or non-Roman, shall look in vain for any of the essential facts."

For since he understood well that the majority of mankind hold in contempt what is of like nature with themselves and in daily association with them, through a feeling that it is no better than themselves, but, as a result of their belief in the divine, worship that which is unseen and different, as being superior, he dedicated a certain piece of ground to the Muses . . .

Dio, Book I. "These, then, are the rites which Numa established."

Suidas, s.v. Νουμᾶς.

And he placed over the priests the *pontifices* and *flamines* as they were called; and he appointed the Salii who should practise the dance. The Vestal virgins he likewise appointed to have charge of the fire and water. They enjoyed the highest honour among the Romans, and kept their chastity for life; if one of them was known by a man she was buried. Accordingly they were not permitted to use perfumes, flowers, or any robe other than a white one.

Cedrenus I, p. 259 f.

And he appointed the Vestal virgins to have charge of the fire and water; these kept their chastity for life, or in case they failed to do so, were buried beneath a shower of stones.

5 *Ὅτι*[1] *δι' ἑαυτῶν τότε κατέστησαν πίστιν τοῦ θείου λαβόντες, κἀκ τούτου αὐτοί τε ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ Νουμᾶ ἀρχὴν διεγένοντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀθεεί σφισι ἐξ ἴσου τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ὑπάρξαι ἔδοξεν. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Σαβίνων εἰδότες ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ἡ Ῥώμη*
6 *ἐκτίσθη γεγεννῆσθαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ δι' ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ταχὺ καὶ εὔκοσμος ἡ πόλις ἐγένετο, τοῦ μὲν τὰ πολεμικὰ αὐτὴν ἀναγκαίως ἅτε καὶ νεόκτιστον οὖσαν ἀσκήσαντος, τοῦ δὲ τὰ εἰρηνικὰ προσεκδιδάξαντος, ὥστ' αὐτὴν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ὁμοίως διαπρέψαι.*—V. 3 (p. 569).

Cadreuns I, p. 259 f. (Bekk.).

Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ταχέως καὶ εὔκοσμος ἡ πόλις ἐγένετο, τοῦ μὲν τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ εἰρηνικὰ ἐκτυπώσαντος, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου τὰ πολεμικά.

Cedrenus I, p. 295 (Bekk.).

Δίων ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἀρχαῖόν τινα ἥρωα Ἰανὸν λέγει διὰ τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου ξένισιν λαβεῖν[2] *τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν μελλόντων καὶ τῶν προϋπαρχόντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διπρόσωπον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πλάττεσθαι· ἐξ οὗ τόν τε μῆνα κληθῆναι Ἰανουάριον, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς γίνεσθαι.*

[1] **ἔπειτα καί**, prefixed to **ὅτι** in the Ms., due to the excerptor.
[2] **λαβεῖν** Bs., **λαβόντα** Ms.

They settled down at that time to an orderly life through their own efforts, when once they had gained faith in the divine; after which they continued at peace both with one another and with the outside tribes throughout the entire reign of Numa. He, no less than Romulus, seemed to have been provided for them by divine guidance; indeed, men who know Sabine history best declare that he was born on the same day that Rome was founded. In this way because of both of them the city quickly became strong and well ordered; for the one gave it practice in the arts of warfare,—of necessity, since it was but newly founded,—and the other taught it, in addition, the arts of peace, so that it became equally distinguished in each.

Cadrenus I, p. 259 f.

Thus, then, through both of them the city quickly became strong and well ordered; for Numa shaped its political and peaceable institutions, even as Romulus determined its military career.

Cedrenus I, p. 295.

Dio the Roman says that Janus, an ancient hero, because of his entertainment of Saturn, received the knowledge of the future and of the past, and that on this account he was represented with two faces by the Romans. From him the month of January was named, and the year takes its beginning from this same month.

7b *α' βιβλίῳ Δίων "καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαῖς τισι τελευταίων ὀριγνώμενοι καὶ τὰς δαπάνας οὐκ ἀκουσίως*[1] *ὑπομένομεν."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 161, 3.

Zonaras 7, 5.

Καὶ τὸν Ἰανουάριον δὲ Νομᾶς εἰς ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔτους ἀπένειμεν.

. . . *βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἐπὶ τρισὶ τεσσαράκοντα.*

[1] ἀκουσίως Bs., ἀκουσίους Ms.

BOOK I

Dio, Book I. "For in the beginning of some undertakings, when we are eagerly seeking certain ends, we gladly submit even to the expense involved."

Zonaras 7, 5.

Numa placed January at the beginning of the year.

[He died] after reigning forty-three years.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK II

7 Δίωνος β' βιβλίῳ "δόξαν τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπίπροσθέν σφισι τῆς αὐξήσεως ἔσεσθαι."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 139, 12.

2 Ὅτι ὅ τε Τοῦλλος καὶ ὁ Μέττιος[1] οὐδέτεροι συνεχώρουν τὴν μετανάστασιν, ἀμφότεροι δὲ τὰ σφέτερα περιέστελλον· ὅ τε γὰρ Τοῦλλος πρός τε τὴν φήμην τὴν περὶ Ῥωμύλου καὶ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παροῦσαν, καὶ ὁ Φουφήτιος πρός τε τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τῆς Ἄλβης καὶ ὅτι καὶ μητρόπολις ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων
3 ἦν, ἐπαιρόμενοι μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐφρόνουν. δι' οὖν

Zonaras 7, 6.

6. Τοῦ δὲ Νομᾶ τελευτήσαντος καὶ μηδένα καταλιπόντος διάδοχον, Ὀστίλλιος Τοῦλλος ᾑρέθη παρὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς. ὃς [τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν τοῦ Νομᾶ χλευάσας ἠθῶν Plutarch, *Numa* 22, 7] τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἐζήλωσε καὶ πρὸς μάχας αὐτός τε ὥρμα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἠρέθιζεν. ἁρπαγῆς γοῦν γενομένης παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξ Ἀλβανῶν ὥρμησαν πρὸς μάχην ἑκάτεροι· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ συμβαλεῖν κατηλλάγησαν καὶ ἐς μίαν πόλιν ἀμφοῖν ἐδόκει συνοικῆσαι τοῖς γένεσιν.

[1] ὅ τε Τοῦλλος καὶ ὁ Μέττιος is an addition of the excerptor.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "[The Romans, realizing] that their [the Albans'] reputation would stand in the way of their own growth."

Neither of the two Tullus or Mettius sanctioned the removal [of his people to the other city], but both championed their own pretensions. For Tullus felt emboldened in view of the fame of Romulus and of the power the Romans now possessed, and so did Fufetius in view of the antiquity of Alba and because it was the mother city not only of the Romans themselves but of many others; and both felt no little pride. For these reasons they gave up

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Zonaras 7, 6.

6. When Numa died leaving no successor, Tullus Hostilius was chosen by the people and the senate. He [sneered at most of Numa's practices] and followed in the footsteps of Romulus; and he was not only himself eager for battle but also provoked the same spirit in his people. Thus when the territory of the Albans had been raided by the Romans, both sides rushed to battle; but before fighting they effected a reconciliation and both races decided to dwell together in one city. When, however, each clung to its own city and insisted that the other should B.C. 672

ταῦτα τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως ἐκείνης ἀπέστησαν, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διηνέχθησαν· ἀστασιάστους[1] γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἀσφαλῶς συμβῆναί σφας ἀδύνατον ἑώρων ὄν,[2] ἐκ τῆς ἐμφύτου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρός τε τὸ ὅμοιον φιλονεικίας[3] καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄρχειν ἑτέρων ἐπιθυμίας. πολλάς τε καὶ περὶ τούτου δικαιώσεις ἀλλήλοις προσήνεγκον, εἴ πως ἐκείνης γε οἱ ἕτεροι ὁποτεροιοῦν ἐθελούσιοι τοῖς ἑτέροις παραχωρήσειαν. οὐδὲν δ'[4] ἐπέραναν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγωνίσασθαι συνέθεντο.—M. 11 (p. 139).

Zonaras 7, 6.

ἑκάστου δὲ τῆς οἰκείας ἐχομένου καὶ τὸ ἕτερον εἰς ταύτην ἀξιοῦντος μεταναστεῦσαι ἀπέστησαν τοῦ σκοποῦ. εἶτα περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διηνέχθησαν· ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς τῷ ἑτέρῳ παρεχώρει αὐτῆς, ἀγωνίσασθαι συνέθεντο περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. οὔτε δὲ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ὅλοις ἐδόκει μαχέσασθαι οὔτε μὴν μονομαχίᾳ κριθήσεσθαι. ἦσαν δὲ παρ' ἀμφοῖν τρίδυμοι ἀδελφοί, ἐκ μητέρων γεγονότες διδύμων, ἰσήλικές τε καὶ ἰσοπαλεῖς τὴν ἰσχύν· ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων Πουπλιοράτιοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν Κουριάται. τούτους εἰς μάχην προεβάλοντο παρ' οὐδὲν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν συγγένειαν θέμενοι· οἱ δὲ ὁπλισάμενοι καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταιχμίῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀντιπαραταξάμενοι θεούς τε ὁμο-

[1] ἀστασιάστους Schenkl = Ms. ? (now illegible).
[2] ἀδύνατον ἑώρων ὄν v. Herw., . . . ρωνιον Ms.
[3] φιλονεικίας Bk., φιλᾱν̄ιας (= φιλανθρωπίας) Ms.
[4] δ' supplied by Bk.

that contention but disputed about the leadership. They saw that it was impossible, on the basis of equal sovereignty, for the two peoples to form an alliance that would be safe and free from strife, owing to the inherent disposition of men to quarrel with their equals and to desire to rule others. On this subject also they made many representations to each other, to see if by any means either would voluntarily concede the sovereignty to the other. However, they accomplished nothing, but agreed to fight for the leadership.'

Zonaras 7, 6.

move to it, they gave up this intention. Next they disputed about the leadership; and when neither would yield to the other, they arranged to have a contest for the sovereignty. They did not, however, care to fight with entire armies nor yet to let the issue be decided by single combat. Now there were on both sides brothers born three at a birth, the offspring of twin mothers, of like age and matched in prowess; the Roman brothers were called Publi-horatii and the Albans Curiatii. These they put forward as their champions for battle, paying no heed to the relationship between them. So the six took up their arms, arrayed themselves opposite each other in the space between the armies, called upon

4 Δίωνος βιβλίον β' "καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον δεινὸν προσδεχομένοις ἐπιθέμενος."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 139, 15.

5 "Οτι ὁ Τοῦλλος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κράτιστος

Zonaras 7, 6.

γνίους ἀνεκαλοῦντο καὶ συνεχῶς ἀνέβλεπον πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. συμβαλόντες δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ἀθρόοι, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἐμάχοντο. τέλος δὲ τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων τῶν δύο πεσόντων, τῶν δὲ Ἀλβανῶν ἁπάντων τρωθέντων, ὁ Ὁράτιος ὁ κατάλοιπος, ὅτι τοῖς τρισὶν ἅμα, εἰ καὶ ἄτρωτος ἦν, οὐκ ἠδύνατο ἀντιτάξασθαι, ἐνέκλινεν, ὡς ἂν διώκοντες αὐτὸν σκεδασθῶσι· κἀπειδὴ πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν διεσπάρησαν, ἑκάστῳ ἐπιτιθέμενος ἅπαντας διεχρήσατο. κἀντεῦθεν τετίμητο· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν προσαπέκτεινεν, ὀλοφυρομένην ἐπεὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνεψιῶν σκῦλα ἑώρα φέροντα τὸν Ὁράτιον, φόνου ἐκρίθη· ἐς δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἔκκλητον αἰτήσας ἀφείθη.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀλβανοὶ τότε μὲν ὑπήκοοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο, ὕστερον δὲ τὰς συνθήκας ἀθετήσαντες καὶ ὡς ὑπήκοοι πρὸς συμμαχίαν κληθέντες, μεταθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης ἐπιχειρήσαντες καὶ συνεπιθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, γνωσθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκτάνθησαν καὶ ὁ αὐτῶν ἐξηγούμενος Μέττιος, οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ μετανάστασιν ἔπαθον, καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν Ἄλβα κατεσκάφη, πεντακόσιά που ἔτη Ῥωμαίοις νομισθεῖσα μητρόπολις.

Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ Τοῦλλος κράτιστος ἔδοξε, τοῦ θείου δὲ παρημέλει. νόσου δ'

BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "And he [Horatius], attacking them when they expected no further danger."

Tullus was regarded as a most valiant man against the

Zonaras 7, 6.

the same family gods and continually glanced upward at the sun. Then they joined battle, now in groups, and now by pairs. Finally, when two of the Romans had fallen and all of the Albans had been wounded, the surviving Horatius, because he could not contend with the three at once, even though he was unwounded, gave way in order that in pursuing him they might be scattered. And when they had become separated in the pursuit, he attacked each one by himself and slew them all. For this he was honoured; but because he furthermore killed his sister, when she lamented on seeing Horatius carrying the spoils of her cousins, he was tried for murder. However, he appealed to the people and was acquitted.

The Albans now became subjects of the Romans, but later they disregarded the compact. When summoned, as subjects, to serve as allies, they attempted at the crisis of the battle to desert to the enemy and to join in the attack upon the Romans; but they were detected and punished. Many, including their leader, Mettius, were put to death, while the rest suffered deportation; and their city, Alba, was razed to the ground, although for some five hundred years it had been honoured by the Romans as their mother city.

While Tullus was accounted a most valiant man against the enemy, he neglected the worship of the

ἐνομίζετο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ θείου πάνυ καταφρονήσας[1] παρημέλει, μέχρις οὗ νόσου λοιμώδους γενομένης καὶ αὐτὸς ἠρρώστησε· τότε γὰρ τῶν τε ἄλλων θεῶν δι' ἀκριβείας ἐπεμελήθη,[2] καὶ τοὺς Σαλίους τοὺς Κολλίνους προσκατέστησε.—V. 4 (p. 569).

8 Ὅτι συνεὶς ὁ Μάρκιος ὡς τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰρηνεῖν οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖ τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, οὐδέ ἐστι τὸ ἄπραγμον ἄνευ τοῦ δραστηρίου σωτήριον,[3] ἀλλ' ὅσῳ τις αὐτοῦ ὀριγνᾶται, εὐεπιθετώτερος τοῖς πολλοῖς γίγνεται, μετεβάλετο· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν ἡσυχίας ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς φυλακὴν[4] ἄνευ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἑώρα ὄν, καὶ τὸ

Zonaras 7, 6.

ἐνσκηψάσης λοιμώδους καὶ αὐτὸς νοσήσας [εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀπέκλινεν Plut., *Numa* 22, 7]. ἐσχηκέναι μέντοι τοῦ βίου λέγεται τέλος [καταφλεχθεὶς ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν, ἢ *ibid.*] ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρκίου Ἄγκου, ὃς θυγατριδοῦς ἐτύγχανεν, ὡς εἴρηται, τοῦ Νομᾶ. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἔτη δύο ἐπὶ τριάκοντα.

Zonaras 7, 7.

7. Διεδέξατο δὲ αὐτὸν Μάρκιος παρ' ἑκόντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν λαβών. ἦν δὲ τὴν χεῖρα οὐκ ἄρτιος· τὴν γὰρ ἀγκύλην πεπήρωτο, ὅθεν καὶ Ἄγκος ἐπώνυμον ἔσχηκεν. ἐπιεικὴς δὲ ὢν ἠναγκάσθη μεταβαλέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς στρα-

[1] καταφρονήσας Bk., καταφρονήσει Ms.
[2] ἐπεμελήθη Val., ἐπεμελήθησαν Ms.
[3] δραστηρίου σωτήριον Egger, σωτηρίου δραστήριον Ms.
[4] πρὸς φυλακὴν Bk., προφυλακῆς Ms.

enemy, but he absolutely despised and neglected the worship of the gods, until, during the occurrence of a pestilence, he himself fell sick. Then, indeed, he paid the strictest regard to all the gods, and in particular established the Salii Collini.

Marcius came to realize that it is not enough for men who desire peace to refrain from injuring others, and that inoffensiveness without aggressiveness is not a means of safety, but the more one strives after peace the more vulnerable does one become to the mass of mankind; and he accordingly changed his policy. He saw that the desire for quiet is not effective as a safeguard unless accompanied by equip-

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Zonaras 7, 6.

gods. But when a pestilence visited the Romans and he himself fell sick, [he turned aside to superstition]. He is said to have met his end [by being consumed by lightning, or else] as the result of a plot formed by Ancus Marcius, who was, as we have stated, a son of Numa's daughter. He was king of the Romans thirty-two years.

Zonaras 7, 7.

7. Marcius succeeded Hostilius, receiving the kingdom as a voluntary gift from the Romans. He was not perfect in his arm, for he was maimed at the joint [*ankylê*], whence he got the nickname Ancus. Though naturally mild, he was compelled to change his policy, and so turned his attention to campaigns. B.C. 640

τερπνὸν τῆς ἀπραγμοσύνης τάχιστα καὶ ῥᾷστα τοῖς[1] πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ σπουδάζουσιν αὐτὴν ἀπολ-
2 λύμενον ᾐσθάνετο. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ καλλίω καὶ ἀσφαλεστέραν καὶ παρασκευὴν καὶ φροντίδα τῆς εἰρήνης τὸν πόλεμον νομίσας εἶναι, πάνθ' ὅσα παρ' ἑκόντων τῶν Λατίνων μηδέν σφας ἀδικῶν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη κομίσασθαι, παρὰ ἀκόντων στρατεύσας ἀπέλαβεν.—M. 12 (p. 139).

Zonaras 7, 7.

τείας ἐτράπετο. οἱ γὰρ λοιποὶ Λατῖνοι διά τε τὸν τῆς Ἄλβης ὄλεθρον, καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῖς δεδοικότες μή τι πάθωσιν ὅμοιον, δι' ὀργῆς μὲν εἶχον Ῥωμαίους, ἕως δὲ περιῆν ὁ Τοῦλλος, δεδιότες ἐκεῖνον ὡς μάχιμον, συνεστέλλοντο. τὸν δὲ Μάρκιον εὐεπίθετον ἡγησάμενοι διὰ τὸ εἰρηναῖον τῆς γνώμης, τῇ τε χώρᾳ ἐπῆλθον καὶ αὐτὴν ἐλῄσαντο. συνεὶς δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰρήνης εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον αἴτιον, ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις καὶ ἀντημύνατο, καὶ πόλεις εἷλεν αὐτῶν, ὧν μίαν καὶ κατέσκαψε, καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν ἁλόντων ὡς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην δὲ συχνοὺς ἑτέρους μετῴκισεν. αὐξανομένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς χώρας σφίσι προστιθεμένης οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἤχθοντο καὶ ἑαυτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐξεπολέμωσαν· ὅθεν αὐτῶν Φιδηνάτας μὲν πολιορκίᾳ ἐκράτησαν, Σαβίνους δ' ἐκάκωσαν, αὐτοῖς τε προσπεσόντες ἐσκεδασμένοις καὶ τὸ σφῶν ἑλόντες στρατόπεδον, ἑτέρους δ' ἐκφοβήσαντες

[1] τοῖς Mai, τοὺς Ms.

ment for war; he perceived also that the satisfactions of a policy of inoffensiveness very quickly and easily ruin those who carry it too far. For this reason he concluded that war afforded at once a more honourable and secure guaranty of peace, both materially and morally; and so whatever he was unable to obtain from the Latins with their consent, and without injuring them, he took away against their will by force of arms.

Zonaras 7, 7.

For the rest of the Latins, on account of the destruction of Alba and in fear that they themselves might suffer some similar disaster, were angry at the Romans. As long as Tullus survived, they had restrained themselves, fearing him as a mighty warrior; but thinking that Marcius was easy to attack because of his peaceful disposition, they assailed his territory and pillaged it. He, realizing that war is the means of peace, assailed his assailants, and avenged himself; he captured some of their cities, one of which he razed to the ground, and disposed of many of the prisoners as captives, while he settled many others in Rome. As the Romans multiplied and land was added to their domain, the neighbouring peoples became displeased and set themselves at odds with them. Hence the Romans overcame the Fidenates by siege, discomfited the Sabines by falling upon them while they were scattered and seizing their camp, and so terrified the rest that they caused

9 Ὅτι Ταρκύνιος πλούτῳ καὶ συνέσει καὶ εὐτραπελίᾳ πολλῇ πανταχοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν χρώμενος οὕτω τὸν Μάρκιον διέθηκεν ὥστε καὶ ἐς τοὺς

Zonaras 7, 7.

εἰρηνεῖν καὶ ἄκοντας παρεσκεύασαν. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Μαρκίῳ ἐπέλιπε τὸ βιώσιμον, εἴκοσιν ἐνιαυτοὺς καὶ τέσσαρας ἄρξαντι, καὶ πολλὴν τοῦ θείου κατὰ τὸν πάππον Νομᾶν ποιουμένῳ τὴν ἐτιμέλειαν.

Zonaras 7, 8.

8. Λούκιος δὲ Ταρκύνιος τὴν ἀρχὴν ᾠκειώσατο, ὃς Δημαράτου μὲν ἦν παῖς Κορινθίου, φυγόντος δὲ καὶ ἐς πόλιν Τυρσηνίδα Ταρκυινίαν ἐγκατοικήσαντος ἐξ αὐθιγενοῦς γυναικὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐτέχθη, Λουκούμων ὀνομασθείς. πολλὰ μέντοι πατρόθεν διαδεξάμενος, ὅτι μὴ τῶν πρωτείων παρὰ τῶν Ταρκυινησίων ὡς ἔπηλυς κατηξίωτο, πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην μεταναστεύει, τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν συμμεταθόμενος, καὶ μετωνομάσθη Λούκιος Ταρκύνιος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ παρῴκει. λέγεται δὲ μετοικιζομένου ἀετὸς καταπτὰς ἁρπάσαι τὸν πῖλον ὃν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ μετεωρισθεὶς καὶ κλάγξας ἐπὶ πολὺ αὖθις αὐτὸν ἐφαρμόσαι τῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν μηδὲν ἐλπίσαι μικρὸν καὶ προθύμως τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγκατοικῆσαι· ὅθεν τοῖς πρώτοις οὐ μετὰ πολὺ συνηρίθμητο. τῷ τε γὰρ πλούτῳ χρώμενος ἀφειδέστερον, συνέσει τε καὶ εὐτραπελίᾳ τοὺς δυνατοὺς οἰκειούμενος, ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν

BOOK II

Tarquinius, by using his great wealth, intelligence, and versatility everywhere, as occasion offered, impressed Marcius so favourably that he was enrolled

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Zonaras 7, 7.

them to remain at peace even against their will. After this Marcius' span of life came to its close, when he had ruled for twenty-four years; he was a man who paid strict attention to religion after the manner of his grandfather Numa.

Zonaras 7, 8.

8. The sovereignty was now appropriated by B.C. 616
Lucius Tarquinius, who was the son of Demaratus, a Corinthian. Driven into exile, the latter had taken up his abode in Tarquinii, an Etruscan city; and a son, named Lucumo, had been born to him there of a native Etruscan woman. This son, though he inherited much wealth from his father, yet, because as an immigrant he was not thought worthy of the highest offices by the people of Tarquinii, moved to Rome, changing his name along with his city; for he was now called Lucius Tarquinius, after the city in which he had sojourned. It is said that as he was journeying to his new home an eagle swooped down and snatched off the cap he had on his head, and after soaring aloft and screaming for some time, fitted it again to his head; hence he conceived no slight hope and eagerly took up his residence in Rome. And thus not long afterward he was numbered among the foremost men. For, as the result of using his wealth quite unstintingly and of winning over the influential men through his intelligence and versatility,

εὐπατρίδας καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλεχθῆναι, στρατηγός τε πολλάκις ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας πιστευθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις προσφιλὴς οὐδὲν ἧττον ἦν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἑκόντων
2 αὐτῶν ἐπρώτευσεν. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι πάντα ἀφ' ὧν ἰσχύειν ἔμελλε πράττων οὐκ ἐξεφρόνει, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πρῶτος[1] ὢν συνεστέλλετο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπίπονα καὶ ἀνθ' ἑτέρων καὶ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ὑπέμενεν, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἡδέων τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐθελοντὴς παρεχώρει καὶ[2] αὐτὸς ἢ οὐδὲν ἢ ὀλίγα, καὶ ταῦτα λανθάνων, ἐκαρποῦτο. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀμεινόνων τήν τε αἰτίαν ἐς πάντας μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀνῆγε, καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἐς τὸ μέσον τῷ δεομένῳ κατετίθει, τὰ δὲ ἀτοπώτερα οὔτ' ἀνέφερεν ἔς τινα οὔτε ἐκοινοῦτό
3 τινι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐχαρίζετο μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Μάρκιον ὡς ἑκάστοις καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις· τῶν τε γὰρ χρημάτων ἀφειδῶς ἀνήλισκε, καὶ ταῖς σπουδαῖς, εἴ τίς τι αὐτοῦ δεηθείη,

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κατελέχθη παρὰ Μαρκίου, καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ τὴν τῶν παίδων ἐκείνου ἐπιτροπείαν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας πεπίστευτο. ἐδείκνυε γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, χρημάτων τε τοῖς δεομένοις μεταδιδοὺς καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἕτοιμον παρέχων εἴ τις δέοιτο αὐτοῦ εἰς βοήθειαν· φαῦλον δέ τι οὔτ'

[1] πρῶτος Bk., πρώτοις Ms. [2] καὶ Bk., καὶ γὰρ Ms.

by the latter among the patricians and senators, was often appointed general and was entrusted with the supervision of the king's children and of the kingdom. He was no less agreeable to the rest, and consequently they welcomed his leadership. The reason was that while he took all measures from which he might derive strength he did not lose his head, but though among the foremost, humbled himself. Any laborious tasks he would undertake in the place of others, and that openly; but pleasures he willingly resigned to others, while he himself obtained either nothing or but little, and then unnoticed. The responsibility for what went well he ascribed to any one sooner than to himself, and he placed the resulting advantages within the reach of the public for whoever desired them; but disagreeable issues he never laid to the charge of any one else, nor attempted to divide the blame. Besides, he favoured all the friends of Marcius individually both in word and deed. Money he spent unstintingly, and he was ready to offer his services to any who needed aught

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he was enrolled among the patricians and senators by Marcius, was appointed general, and was entrusted with the supervision of the king's children and of the kingdom. He showed himself an excellent man, sharing his money with those in need and offering himself readily to any one who required his assistance; he

ἑτοίμως ἐχρῆτο· φαῦλον δέ τι[1] ἐς οὐδένα οὔτε ἔλεγεν οὔτε ἔπραττεν, οὐδὲ ἐς ἀπέχθειαν ἑκὼν οὐδενὶ καθίστατο. καὶ προσέτι, ἃ μὲν εὖ ὑπό τινων ἔπασχεν, ἐπὶ[2] τὸ μεῖζον ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανεν,[3] τὰ δὲ δυσχερέστερα ἤτοι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ προσεποιεῖτο ἢ καὶ φαυλίσας παρ' ἐλάχιστον ἦγε, καὶ οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἠμύνετό τινα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐηργέτει, μέχριπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐξενίκησεν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων σοφίας τινὰ[4] δόξαν, ἅτε καὶ τὸν Μάρκιον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν πάντας χειρωσάμενος, ἐκτήσατο,
4 ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἔπειτα ἀπιστεῖσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν ὡς ἤτοι δολεροὺς φύσει ὄντας ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις τάς τε τύχας καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀλλοιουμένους.—V. 5 (p. 570).

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ἔπραττεν οὔτ' ἔλεγεν οὐδενί. καὶ εἴ τι πρός τινων εὖ ἔπασχεν, ἐξῆρε τὸ γινόμενον, εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἐπαχθέστερον αὐτῷ γένοιτο, ἢ οὐδ' ἐλογίζετο τὸ λυποῦν ἢ καὶ φαυλίσας παρελογίζετο, οὐ μόνον τε οὐκ ἠμύνετο τὸν λελυπηκότα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐηργέτει. τούτοις αὐτόν τε τὸν Μάρκιον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ δόξαν ἀνδρὸς ἐκτήσατο σοφοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ.

Ἀλλ' οὐ προσέμεινε μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ ἡ ὑπόληψις. τοῦ Μαρκίου γὰρ τελευτήσαντος κακῶς τε περὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου διετέθη δύο υἱεῖς καὶ τὴν

[1] τι inserted by Gros. [2] ἐπὶ Salmasius, ὑπὸ Ms.
[3] ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανεν Bk., διελάμβανεν Ms.
[4] τινὰ Bk., τινὸς Ms.

of him. He neither said nor did anything mean to anybody, and did not willingly become anybody's enemy. Furthermore, whatever favours he received from others he always exaggerated, but unpleasant treatment he either did not notice at all or minimized it and regarded it as of very slight importance; and he not only refused to retaliate in such cases, but actually conferred kindnesses until he won even the offender over completely. From this course, accordingly, he gained a certain reputation for cleverness, because he had come to dominate Marcius and his whole circle; but by his subsequent behaviour he caused the majority of men to be distrusted, either as being deceitful by nature or as changing their disposition according to their power and fortunes.

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neither did nor said anything mean to any one. And if he received a favour at the hands of anybody, he magnified it, whereas if any offence was offered him, he either disregarded the injury or minimized it and made light of it, and far from retaliating upon the man who had done the injury, he would even confer kindnesses upon him. Thus he came to dominate both Marcius himself and his circle, and acquired the reputation of being a sensible and upright man.

But the aforesaid estimate of him did not continue permanently. For upon the death of Marcius he behaved in a knavish way to the latter's two sons

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βασιλείαν ἐσφετερίσατο. τῆς τε γὰρ βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοῦ Μαρκίου παῖδας χειροτονεῖν μελλόντων, ἐκεῖνος τῶν βουλευτῶν τε μετῆλθε τὸ δυνατώτατον, καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς πόρρω ποι ὡς ἐς θήραν προπέμψας, οἷς τε εἶπε καὶ οἷς ἔπραξεν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ψηφίσασθαι παρεσκεύασεν, ὡς ἀνδρωθεῖσιν αὐτὴν δῆθεν τοῖς παισὶν ἀποδώσοντι. ἐγκρατής τε καταστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων, οὕτω τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διέθετο ὥστε μηδέποτε ἐθελήσειν ἀνθελέσθαι τοὺς παῖδας ἐκείνου· καὶ τὰ μειράκια δὲ πρὸς ῥᾳστώνην ἐθίζων τάς τε ψυχὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ σώματα σὺν χάριτι δή τινι ἔφθειρε. δεδιὼς δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἔχων ἰσχὺν ἑαυτῷ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ περιεποιήσατο. τοὺς γὰρ φιλίως αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου διακειμένους περὶ διακοσίους ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἐνέγραψε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτάς, καὶ οὕτω τήν τε γερουσίαν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐποιήσατο. καὶ τὴν στολὴν πρὸς τὸ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἤμειψεν· ἡ δὲ ἦν ἱμάτιον καὶ χιτὼν ὁλοπόρφυρα καὶ χρυσόπαστα, στέφανός τε λίθων χρυσοδέτων καὶ σκῆπτρον δίφρος τε ἐλεφάντινα, οἷς καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἔχοντες ἡγεμονίαν ἐχρήσαντο. καὶ τεθρίππῳ ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις ἐπόμπευσε, καὶ ῥαβδούχους διὰ βίου δώδεκα ἔσχε.

Πάντως δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω ἐκαινοτόμησεν ἄν, εἰ μή τις Ἄττος Νάουιος τὰς φυλὰς αὐτὸν βουληθέντα μετακοσμῆσαι κεκώλυκεν, ὃς οἰωνιστὴς ἦν οἷος οὐχ ἕτερος γέγονε. τοῦτον ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὀργισθεὶς διὰ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν ὑβρίσαι καὶ τὴν

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and got the kingdom for himself. For when the senate and the people were intending to elect the sons of Marcius, Tarquinius made advances to the most influential element among the senators, after having first sent the fatherless boys to some distant point, as if on a hunting expedition; and then by his words and by his efforts he secured the voting of the kingdom to himself, on the understanding, of course, that he would restore it to the boys when they reached manhood. But after assuming control of affairs he so managed the Romans that they would never wish to choose the boys in his stead. He accustomed the lads to indolence and ruined them soul and body by a sort of kindness. But still feeling anxious in spite of these arrangements, he strengthened himself in the senate. Those of the populace who were friendly towards him he enrolled, to the number of about two hundred, among the patricians and senators, and thus he brought both the senate and the people under his control. He also altered his raiment and insignia to a more magnificent style. These consisted of toga and tunic, purple all over and shot with gold, a crown of precious stones set in gold, and an ivory sceptre and chair; they were later used not only by his successors but also by those who held sway as emperors. He also on the occasion of a triumph paraded with a four-horse chariot and kept twelve lictors for life.

He would certainly have made many other innovations as well, had not Attus Navius withstood him when he desired to rearrange the tribes; this man was an augur whose equal has never been seen. Tarquinius, angry at his opposition, devised a plan to

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τέχνην ἐξουθενῆσαι διεμελέτησεν. λαβὼν οὖν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἀκόνην τε καὶ ξυρὸν ἐς τὸν δῆμον παρῆλθεν, ἐν νῷ ἔχων τμηθῆναι τῷ ξυρῷ τὴν ἀκόνην, πρᾶγμα τῶν ἀδυνάτων· εἰπών τε ὅσα ἐβούλετο, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἄττος ἀντέλεγεν ἐντονώτατα, μηδὲν ὑφιέμενος "εἰ μὴ φιλονείκως ἀντιλέγεις," ἔφη, "ἀλλ' ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἐπὶ πάντων τούτων ἀπόκριναί μοι εἰ ὃ κατὰ νοῦν ἔχω ποιῆσαι γενήσεται." ὁ δὲ Ἄττος αὐτοῦ που οἰωνισάμενος παραυτίκα "καὶ πάνυ γε," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὃ διανοῇ ἔσται ἐπιτελές." "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "τὴν ἀκόνην ταύτην λαβὼν τῷ ξυρῷ τούτῳ διάτεμε· τοῦτο γὰρ γενέσθαι διανενόημαι." ὁ δὲ ἔλαβέ τε αὐτὴν εὐθὺς καὶ διέκοψε. θαυμάσας δὲ ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἄλλας τε τιμὰς ἐκείνῳ παρέσχε καὶ χαλκῆς εἰκόνος ἠξίωσε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῆς πολιτείας ἠλλοίωσε, πρὸς πάντα τε συμβούλῳ τῷ Ἄττῳ ἐκέχρητο.

Μαχεσάμενος δὲ Λατίνοις ἀποστατήσασιν, ἔπειτα καὶ Σαβίνοις ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαΐδα ἐμβαλοῦσι, συμμαχουμένοις καὶ ὑπὸ Τυρσηνῶν, ἁπάντων ἐκράτησε. τῶν δὲ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερειῶν, ἃς παρθενεύειν διὰ βίου νενόμισται, φωράσας τινὰ συμφθαρεῖσαν ἀνδρί, ὑπόγεών τινα κατασκευάσας ὑποδρομὴν προμήκη, κλίνην τε θεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ λύχνον καὶ τράπεζαν σιτίων ὑπόπλεων, ἐκεῖ τὴν φθαρεῖσαν προπεμπομένην ἐκόμισε, καὶ ζῶσαν εἰσαγαγὼν ἐγκατῳκοδόμησε. καὶ οὕτω τὰς τὴν

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abase him and to bring his art into contempt. So, putting into his bosom a whetstone and a razor, and having in mind the thought of the whetstone being cut by the razor,—a thing that is impossible,—he came before the assembly. After he had said all that he wished, and when Attus very stoutly opposed him, he exclaimed, still without yielding in the least: "If you are not opposing me out of quarrelsomeness, but are speaking the truth, answer me in the presence of all these witnesses, whether what I have in mind to do shall be performed." Attus, after taking an augury on almost the very spot, replied immediately: "Verily, O King, what you intend shall be accomplished." "Well, then," said the other, "take this whetstone and cut it through with this razor; this is what I have had in mind should come to pass." Attus at once took the stone and cut it through. Tarquinius, marvelling, heaped various honours upon him, accorded him the distinction of a bronze statue, and did not again make any change in the established order of the State, but employed Attus as a counsellor in all matters.

He fought against the Latins who had revolted, and afterwards against the Sabines, who, aided by the Etruscans as allies, had invaded the Roman territory; and he conquered them all. When he discovered that one of the priestesses of Vesta, who are required by custom to remain virgins for life, had been seduced by a man, he arranged a kind of oblong underground chamber, and after placing in it a bed, a lamp, and a table well filled with food, he brought thither the unchaste woman, escorted by a procession, and after placing her alive in the room, walled it up. From that time this plan of punishing

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παρθενίαν μὴ τηρησάσας τῶν ἱερειῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου τιμωρεῖσθαι κεκράτηκεν· οἱ δὲ ταύτας αἰσχύνοντες εἰς ξύλον τὸν αὐχένα δίκρουν ἐμβάλλονται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο γυμνοὶ αἰκιζόμενοι ἀποψύχουσιν.

Ἐπέθεντο μέντοι τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ οἱ τοῦ Μαρκίου παῖδες, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς παρεχώρει, ἀλλά τινα Τούλλιον τεχθέντα οἱ ἐξ αἰχμαλωτίδος προῆγε πάντων· ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἐλύπει. ὧν τινας προσεταιρισάμενοι αὐτῷ ἐπεβούλευσαν, δύο τινὰς χωριτικῶς ἐσταλμένους, ἀξίναις καὶ δρεπάνοις ὡπλισμένους, αὐτῷ ἐπιθέσθαι παρασκευάσαντες. οἳ ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀγοράζοντι τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ ἐνέτυχον, ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τῶν βασιλείων ἧκον, ἀλλήλοις δῆθεν διαμαχόμενοι, καί οἱ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν ἐδέοντο. καὶ τυχόντες τούτου εἰς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ἀντικατέστησαν, καὶ δικαιολογουμένῳ τῷ ἑνὶ προσέχοντα τὸν Ταρκύνιον ὁ ἕτερος κατειργάσατο.

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9. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ταρκύνιος τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τέλος, τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτούς. οὐ μὴν τῆς βασιλείας οἱ τοῦ Μαρκίου παῖδες ἐδράξαντο, ἀλλ' ὁ Τούλλιος ταύτην ἔσχε συνεργίᾳ τῆς τοῦ Ταρκυνίου γυναικὸς Τανακυλλιδος. ὃν γυνή τις Ὀκρισία καλουμένη, Σπουρίου[1] Τουλλίου ἀνδρὸς Λατίνου εὐνέτειρα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἁλοῦσα καὶ τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ ἐξαιρεθεῖσα, τέτοκεν ἢ ἐγκύμων οἴκοθεν οὖσα ἢ συλλαβοῦσα μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν· λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἀμφότερα. οὗτος ἐς παῖδας ἤδη

[1] Σπουρίου Bs., ἐπουρίου BC^c, ἐπερίου A.

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the priestesses who do not keep their chastity has continued to prevail. The men who dishonour them have their necks inserted in a forked pole in the Forum, and then are scourged naked until they perish.

However, an attack was made upon Tarquinius by the sons of Marcius because he would not yield the sovereignty to them, but instead placed a certain Tullius, born to him by a slave woman, at the head of them all. This more than anything else displeased the patricians. The young men interested some of these in their cause, and then they formed a plot against the king. They arrayed two men like rustics, equipped with axes and sickles, and made them ready to attack him. So these two, since they did not find Tarquinius in the Forum, came to the gates of the palace, pretending to have a dispute with each other, and asked for admission to his presence. Upon gaining their request they began to make opposing arguments, and while Tarquinius was giving his attention to one of them as he pleaded his cause, the other slew him.

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9. Such was the end that befell Tarquinius after B.C. 578
he had ruled for thirty-eight years. Nevertheless, the sons of Marcius did not possess themselves of the royal power, but Tullius gained it, through the co-operation of Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius. Tullius was the son of a certain woman named Ocrisia, who had been the wife of Spurius[1] Tullius, a Latin, and had been captured in the war and set apart for Tarquinius; she had either become pregnant at home or conceived after her capture (both stories are current). When Tullius had at length reached

[1] For the name Spurious cf. Festus, s.v. *Notrum* (p. 174 M).

10 *β' βιβλίῳ Δίων "ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπειθάρχουν αὐτῷ."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 164, 19.

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τελῶν ἐπὶ δίφρου μεθ' ἡμέραν κατέδαρθε, καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς πολὺ ἐδόκει ἐξάλλεσθαι. ὅπερ ἰδὼν ὁ Ταρκύνιος διὰ σπουδῆς ἦγε τὸν παῖδα, καὶ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἀφιγμένον τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ συνέταξε.

Συλληφθέντων οὖν τῶν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου φονέων, μαθοῦσα ἡ ἐκείνου γυνὴ καὶ ὁ Τούλλιος τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, οὐ φανερὸν αὐτίκα τὸν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου θάνατον ἔθεντο, ἀλλ' ἀνελόμενοι αὐτὸν ὡς ἔτι ἐμπνέοντα ἐθεράπευον δῆθεν, κἀν τούτῳ πίστεις ἀλλήλοις ἔδοσαν ὥστε τὸν Τούλλιον τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰληφότα τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῆς ἀνδρωθεῖσιν ἐκστῆναι ταύτης. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος συνδραμὸν ἐθορύβει, προκύψασα ἐκ τῶν ὑπερῴων ἡ Τανακυίλις "μὴ φοβεῖσθε" ἔφη· "ὁ γὰρ ἀνήρ μου καὶ ζῇ καὶ ὑμῖν μετ' ὀλίγον ὀφθήσεται. ἵνα δὲ αὐτός τε σχολάζων ὑγιασθῇ καὶ μή τι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀσθενείας εἴη ἐμπόδιον, Τουλλίῳ κατά γε τὸ παρὸν τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτρέπει διοίκησιν." εἶπεν ἐκείνη ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ τὸν Τούλλιον οὐκ ἀκουσίως ἐδέξαντο· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐδόκει.

Ἐγχειρισθεὶς οὖν ἐκεῖνος τὴν τῶν κοινῶν οἰκονομίαν, τὰ πλείω κατ' ἐντολὰς δῆθεν διῴκει τοῦ Ταρκυνίου. ὡς δ' ἐν πᾶσιν ἑώρα πειθαρχοῦντας αὐτῷ, τοὺς αὐτόχειρας τοῦ Ταρκυνίου

BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "But when they yielded him obedience in everything."

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boyhood he went to sleep on a chair once in the daytime and a quantity of fire seemed to leap forth from his head. Tarquinius, seeing it, took a lively interest in the boy and when he arrived at maturity had him enrolled among the patricians and senators.

The murderers of Tarquinius were arrested, and his wife and Tullius learned the plan of the plot; but instead of making the king's death known at once, they took him up and pretended to care for him, as if he were still alive, and meanwhile exchanged mutual pledges that Tullius should take the sovereignty but surrender it to Tanaquil's sons when they became men. And when the multitude ran together and raised an outcry, Tanaquil, leaning out of an upper story, said: "Be not afraid. My husband both lives and shall be seen by you shortly. But in order that he may regain health at leisure and that no hindrance to business may arise from his being incapacitated, he entrusts the management of the public weal for the present to Tullius." These were her words, and the people not unwillingly accepted Tullius; for he appeared to be an upright man.

When he had thus been granted the administration of public affairs, he managed them for the most part according to orders supposed to come from Tarquinius. And when he saw the people yielding him obedience in all points, he brought the assassins of Tarquinius before the senate, though only because

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πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν παρήγαγε διὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τάχα· ἔτι γὰρ ζῆν ἐκεῖνον προσεποιεῖτο. καὶ οἱ μὲν καταψηφισθέντες ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Μαρκίου υἱοὶ φοβηθέντες εἰς Οὐολούσκους κατέφυγον. κἀκεῖνος τότε τόν τε θάνατον τοῦ Ταρκυνίου ἐξέφηνε καὶ φανερῶς τῆς βασιλείας ἐπείληπτο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς τοῦ Ταρκυνίου παῖδας προυβάλλετο ὡς αὐτὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιτροπεύων, εἶτα πρὸς θεραπείαν τοῦ δήμου ἐτράπετο, ὡς ῥᾷστα μᾶλλον τὸν ὅμιλον ἢ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ὑποποιησόμενος, χρήματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου καὶ γῆν ἑκάστῳ προσένειμε καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐλευθεροῦσθαι καὶ φυλετεύεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν. ἀχθομένων δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν δυνατῶν, ἔταξέ τινα τοὺς ἐλευθερωθέντας τοῖς ἐλευθερώσασι σφᾶς ἀνθυπουργεῖν. ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς εἶχον οἱ εὐπατρίδαι αὐτῷ, καὶ διεθρόουν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι μηδενὸς αὐτὸν ἑλομένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει, συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον ἐδημηγόρησε· καὶ πολλὰ ἐπαγωγὰ διαλεχθεὶς αὐτῷ οὕτω διέθετο, ὡς αὐτίκα πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιψηφίσασθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀμειβόμενος ἄλλα τε ἐφιλοτιμήσατο καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριόν τινας αὐτῶν ἐνέγραψεν· οἳ πάλαι μὲν ἐν πλείστοις ἧττον ἔφερον τῶν εὐπατριδῶν, τοῦ χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, πλὴν τῆς μεσοβασιλείας καί τινων ἱερωσυνῶν, τῶν ἴσων μετεῖχον τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις, καὶ διέφερον ἄνευ τῶν ὑποδημάτων οὐδέν. τοῖς γὰρ εὐπατρίδαις τὰ ὑποδήματα τὰ[1] ἀστικὰ τῇ[2] τε

[1] τὰ supplied by Cary. [2] τῇ Pinder, καὶ τῇ Ms.

Zonaras 7, 9.

of their plot, as he styled it; for he still pretended that the king was alive. They were sentenced and put to death, and the sons of Marcius through fear took refuge among the Volsci. Then Tullius not only revealed the death of Tarquinius but openly took possession of the kingdom. At first he put forward the sons of Tarquinius as his excuse, claiming that he was the guardian of their royal office, but afterward he proceeded to pay court to the people, believing that he could secure control of the multitude very much more easily than of the patricians. He gave them money, assigned land to each individual, and made preparations to free the slaves and adopt them into tribes. As the leaders were irritated at this, he gave instructions that those liberated should perform some services, in requital, for the men who had liberated them. But when the patricians became incensed against him, and circulated, among other charges, one to the effect that he was holding the sovereignty without anybody's sanction, he gathered the people together and addressed them. And by the use of many alluring statements he so disposed them toward himself that they at once voted the kingdom to him outright. He in return bestowed many gifts upon them and enrolled some of them in the senate. These were originally at a disadvantage in most matters as compared with the patricians, but as time went on they shared equally with the patricians in everything except the office of *interrex* and certain priesthoods, and were distinguished from them in no respect except by their shoes. For the shoes worn by the patricians in the city were ornamented with

Zonaras 7, 9.

ἐπαλλαγῇ τῶν ἱμάντων καὶ τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ γράμματος ἐκεκόσμηντο, ἵν' ἐκ τούτων[1] δοκοῖεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν τῶν κατ' ἀρχὰς βουλευσάντων κατιέναι. τὸ γράμμα δὲ ῥῶ φασιν εἶναι, ἢ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν δηλωτικὸν ὂν ἢ ὡς τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατάρχον ὀνόματος.[2]

Τὸν μὲν οὖν ὅμιλον οὕτως ὁ Τούλλιος ᾠκειώσατο, δείσας δὲ μή τις στάσις συμβῇ, τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἰσχυρότατα τῶν κοινῶν τοῖς δυνατωτέροις ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ οὕτως σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς συνεφρόνησαν καὶ τὸ δημόσιον διήγαγον ἄριστα. καὶ πολέμους δέ τινας πρός τε τοὺς Οὐιέντας καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Τυρσηνοὺς ἐπολέμησεν, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη συγγράμματος ἄξιον. τοὺς Λατίνους δ' ἐπὶ μᾶλλον Ῥωμαίοις βουληθεὶς οἰκειώσασθαι, νεών τινα ἐκ χρημάτων κοινῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατασκευάσαι πέπεικε. καὶ τοῦτον ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. περὶ δὲ τῆς νεωκορίας αὐτοῦ διεφέροντο. κἀν τούτῳ Σαβῖνος ἀνὴρ βοῦν ἦγε περικαλλῆ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὡς ἔκ τινος χρησμοῦ θύσων αὐτὴν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς τὸν ἐκείνην θύσαντα ἔλεγε τὴν πατρίδα ἐπαυξήσειν. τοῦτο δέ τις τῶν Ῥωμαίων μαθὼν προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον εἶπε δεῖν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἁγνισθῆναι, καὶ εἰπὼν ἔπεισε, καὶ πείσας ἔλαβε τὴν βοῦν ὡς φυλάξων, καὶ λαβὼν ἔθυσεν. ἐκφήναντος δὲ τοῦ Σαβίνου τὸ λόγιον οἱ Λατῖνοι καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ προστασίας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις

[1] τούτων BA^c, τούτου C.
[2] This sentence is doubtless an addition of Zonaras.

laced straps and the design of the letter, to signify that they were descended from the original hundred men that had been senators. [This, they say, was the letter R,[1] either as indicating the number of the hundred men referred to or else as the initial of the name of the Romans.]

In this way Tullius gained control of the populace; but fearing that some rebellion might take place, he entrusted the greater part and the most important of the public business to the care of the more influential citizens. Thus they became harmonious among themselves and transacted the public business in the best manner. He also conducted a few wars against the Veientes and against all the Etruscans, in the course of which nothing was done worthy of record. Wishing to affiliate the Latins still more closely with the Romans, he persuaded them to construct a temple in Rome out of common funds. This they dedicated to Diana. But differences arose in regard to its superintendence. Meantime a Sabine brought to Rome an exceedingly fine cow, intending to sacrifice her to Diana in accordance with an oracle. The oracle declared that he who sacrificed her should exalt his country. One of the Romans, learning of this, went to the man and told him it was necessary that he first be purified in the river, and by his words he persuaded him. After persuading him, he took the cow under the pretence of keeping her safe; and having taken her, he sacrificed her. When the Sabine made known the oracle, the Latins both yielded the presidency of the shrine to the

[1] An obvious error for C. The Greek letter Rho had the same numerical value. Dio may have stated this fact, and Zonaras, after misinterpreting his source, has then indulged in a little theorizing of his own.

11 Δίωνος βιβλίον β' "καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὅτι μὴ συνήρετο, λάθρᾳ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ φαρμάκοις ἐξειργάσατο."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 139, 17.

Zonaras 7, 9.

ἐξέστησαν καὶ ἐς τἆλλα ὡς κρείττονας σφῶν ἐτίμων αὐτούς.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως· ὁ Τούλλιος δὲ τοῖς Ταρκυνίοις τὰς θυγατέρας συνῴκισε, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἄλλοτε ἄλλο τι προφασιζόμενος ἀνεβάλλετο. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐφρόνουν, ἀλλὰ ἤχθοντο. ὁ δ' ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τούτους πεποίητο, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πρὸς τὸ δημοκρατικὸν ἐνῆγε καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἤσχαλλον οἱ Ταρκύνιοι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν νεώτερος, κἂν ἐχαλέπαινεν, ἔφερε, τῷ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ προήκοντι οὐκέτι τοῦ Τουλλίου ἐδόκει ἀνέχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ συνευδοκοῦσαν εὕρισκε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν ὁμαίμονα, αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν γυναῖκα, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκείνου φαρμάκοις διέφθειρε, καὶ συναφθεὶς τῇ συνεύνῳ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῷ Τουλλίῳ σὺν αὐτῇ ἐπεβούλευε. καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν αἰτίας ἔχοντας κατὰ τοῦ Τουλλίου πείσας συνάρασθαί οἱ, ἐξαπιναίως μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον παραγέγονεν, ἑπομένης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς Τουλλίας· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξίας τοὺς παρόντας ἀναμιμνήσκων, πολλὰ δ' ἀπέσκωψε πρὸς τὸν Τούλλιον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος ταῦτα μαθὼν ἐπέστη σπουδῇ, καί τι δὴ καὶ ἐφθέγξατο, συνήρπασεν αὐτὸν καὶ

BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "And because his brother did not coöperate with him, he secretly put him out of the way by means of poison administered by his wife."

Zonaras 7, 9.

Romans and in other ways honoured them as superior to themselves.

This was the course these matters took. Now Tullius joined his daughters in marriage with the Tarquins, and though he announced that he was going to restore the kingdom to them, he kept putting it off, on one pretext after another. And they were in no amiable frame of mind, but were indignant. The king paid no heed to them and urged the Romans to democracy and freedom. At this the Tarquins were all the more vexed. But the younger brother, angry as he was, still endured it, while the older one decided he could bear Tullius no longer. And when he found that his wife did not approve his attitude, any more than did his brother, he put his wife to death himself and compassed his brother's death by means of poison administered by the latter's wife. Then joining himself to his brother's wife, he plotted with her against Tullius. After persuading many of the senators and patricians who had grievances against Tullius to coöperate with him, he unexpectedly repaired with them to the senate, his wife Tullia also following him. And he spoke at considerable length, reminding those present of his father's worth and uttering many jests at the expense of Tullius. When the latter, on hearing of it, hastily made his appearance and even spoke a few words,

2 *Ὅτι ὁ Ταρκύνιος, ἐπεὶ ἱκανῶς ὡς καὶ ἀκόντων τυραννήσων παρεσκευάσατο, τοὺς δυνατωτάτους πρῶτον μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συλλαμβάνων, πολλοὺς μὲν φανερῶς, οἷς γε αἰτίαν τινὰ εὐπρεπῆ ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐδύνατο, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ*

Zonaras 7, 9.

ἐξάρας ὦσε κατὰ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἀναβαθμῶν. καὶ ὁ μέν, ταραχθεὶς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου τόλμαν καὶ ὅτι οὐδέ τις αὐτῷ ἐπεκούρησεν, οὔτ' εἶπεν ἔτι οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐποίησε· Ταρκύνιος δὲ τήν τε βασιλείαν εὐθὺς παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβε, καὶ πέμψας τινὰς τὸν Τούλλιον κομιζόμενον οἴκαδε διεχρήσατο. ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ ἐκείνου ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τὸν ἄνδρα καταφιλήσασα καὶ βασιλέα προσαγορεύσασα καὶ ἀπιοῦσα πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια τὸ ὄχημα κατὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς εἶχεν ἐπήλασεν.

Zonaras 7, 10.

10. *Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Τούλλιος ἦρξε καὶ οὕτως ἀπέθανε, βασιλεύσας τέσσαρας ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ὁ Ταρκύνιος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφὼς δορυφόρους κατὰ Ῥωμύλον ἑαυτῷ περιέστησε, καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς καὶ οἰκουρῶν καὶ ἀγοράζων ἐκέχρητο. ἐξ ὧν γὰρ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν κηδεστὴν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐποίησαν, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐδεδίεσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς τυραννήσων παρεσκευάσατο, τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συλλαμβάνων ἐκτίννυεν, οἷς μὲν αἰτίαν εἶχεν*

Tarquinius, when he had made sufficient preparations to rule over them even against their will, first proceeded to arrest the most influential of the senators and next some of the other citizens, putting many to death publicly, when he could bring some

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Zonaras 7, 9.

Tarquin seized him, and carrying him forth, cast him down the steps in front of the senate-house. So the king, bewildered by the audacity of Tarquin and surprised that no one came to his assistance, did not say or do anything more. Tarquin at once obtained the kingdom from the senate, and sent some men who slew Tullius while he was on his way home. The latter's daughter, after embracing her husband in the senate-house and saluting him as king, departed for the palace, driving her chariot over the dead body of her father as he lay there.

Zonaras 7, 10.

10. Thus ruled Tullius and thus he died, after a reign of forty-four years. Tarquin, who succeeded to the kingdom, surrounded himself with body-guards after the manner of Romulus, and used them both night and day, at home and about the Forum. For, as a result of what he had done to his father-in-law, and his wife to her father, they in turn were afraid of other people. And when he had made his preparations to rule over them, he proceeded to arrest and put to death the most influential of the senators and other citizens, executing publicly those B.C. 534

3 λάθρᾳ ἀπεκτίννυε, καί τινας ὑπερώριζεν. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὸν Τούλλιόν τινες αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνον ἠγάπησαν, οὐδ' ὅτι γένη καὶ πλούτους ἢ καὶ φρόνημα εἶχον, ἀνδρείᾳ τε ἐπιφανεῖ ἢ καὶ σοφίᾳ διαπρεπεῖ ἐχρῶντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς δὲ προκαταλαμβάνων, φθόνῳ τε καὶ ὑποψίᾳ ἅμα μίσους ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὁμοήθους ἔφθειρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάνυ φίλους πρός τε τὴν μοναρχίαν οἱ σπουδάσαντας οὐδὲν ἧττον τῶν ἑτέρων ἀπώλλυεν, νομίζων σφᾶς ὑπό τε τῆς θρασύτητος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νεωτεροποιίας, ὑφ' ἧς ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν συγ-
4 κατέπραξαν, κἂν ἄλλῳ τινὶ αὐτὴν δοῦναι. κἀκ τούτου τὸ κράτιστον τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἱππάδος ἀπανάλωσεν, οὐδ' ἀντικαθίστη τὸ παράπαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων οὐδένα· μισεῖσθαί τε[1] γὰρ ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου ἐπίστευε, καὶ τὰ

Zonaras 7, 10.

ἐπενεγκεῖν φανερῶς ἀναιρῶν, οὓς δὲ λάθρᾳ· ἐνίους δέ γε καὶ ὑπερώριζεν. οὐ γὰρ τοὺς τῷ Τουλλίῳ προσκειμένους μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τὴν μοναρχίαν συναραμένους αὐτῷ προσαπώλλυε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ κράτιστον τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἱππάδος ἀνάλωσε. μισεῖσθαί τε ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου ἐπίστευε· διὸ οὐδὲ ἀντικαθίστη τὸ παράπαν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τινάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ

[1] τε added by Val.

plausible charge against them, and many others secretly, while some he banished. Not merely because some of them loved Tullius more than they did him, nor because they had family, wealth, or spirit, and displayed conspicuous bravery and extraordinary wisdom did he destroy them,—by way of defending himself against some and anticipating the attack of others,—out of jealousy and a suspicion likewise that their dissimilarity of character must force them to hate him, but he even slew all his bosom friends who had exerted themselves to help him get the royal power, no less than the rest; for he thought that impelled by the audacity and fondness for revolution through which they had helped him to obtain dominion they might likewise give it to some one else. So he made away with the most powerful element among the senators and the knights and did not appoint to those orders any one whatever in place of the men who were being destroyed; for he believed that he was hated by the entire populace

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Zonaras 7, 10.

against whom he was able to bring a charge, and others secretly; some also he banished. He destroyed not merely the followers of Tullius, but in addition those who had coöperated with himself in securing the royal power, and thus he made away with the most powerful element among the senators and the knights. He believed that he was hated by the entire populace; hence he did not appoint any persons whatever in place of the men who were

τέλη ἐκεῖνα ἀσθενέστατα ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγανθρωπίας ποιῆσαι ἐπεθύμει. καὶ τήν γε γερουσίαν καὶ καταλῦσαι παντελῶς ἐπεχείρησεν, πᾶν ἄθροισμα ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπιλέκτων καὶ πρόσχημα προστατείας τινὸς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ἐχόντων, πολεμιώτατον τυράννῳ[1] νομίζων εἶναι. δείσας δὲ μή πώς οἱ τὸ πλῆθος ἢ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ δορυφόροι, οἷά που πολῖται ὄντες, ἀγανακτήσει τοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν σφῶν μεθίστασθαι ἐπαναστῶσιν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἐν τρόπῳ δέ τινι ἐπιτηδείῳ καὶ πάνυ αὐτὸ[2] κατέπραξεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀντεισῆγεν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδένα, οὔτε τοῖς καταλοίποις λόγου τι ἄξιον ἐπεκοίνου. συνεκάλει μὲν γὰρ αὐτούς, οὐ μὴν ὥστε καὶ συνδιοικεῖν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρός τε τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς ὀλιγότητός σφων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταπεινότητα καὶ καταφρόνησιν ἐξεπίτηδες ἐποίει.

Zonaras 7, 10.

τὴν γερουσίαν καταλῦσαι παντελῶς ἐπιχειρήσας, οὔτε ἀντεισῆγεν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδένα οὔτε τοῖς οὖσιν ἐπεκοίνου τι λόγου ἄξιον. συνεκάλει μὲν γὰρ αὐτούς, οὐ μὴν ὥστε τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων συνδιοικεῖν, ἀλλ' ἵνα δήλη αὐτῶν ἡ βραχύτης γίνοιτο ἅπασι, κἀντεῦθεν καταφρονοῖντο· τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα

[1] τυράννῳ Val., τύραννον Ms. [2] αὐτὸ Val., αὐτῶι Ms.

and he was anxious to render the classes mentioned utterly powerless through lack of numbers. In fact, he even undertook to abolish the senate altogether, since he believed that every gathering of men, particularly of chosen persons who possessed some semblance of authority from antiquity, was most hostile to a tyrant. But since he was afraid that the multitude or even his body-guards themselves, in their capacity as citizens, might revolt by reason of vexation at the change in government, he refrained from doing this openly, but effectively gained his object in a convenient manner. He not only introduced no new member into the senate to make up the loss, but even to those who were left he communicated nothing of importance. He used to call the senators together, to be sure, yet it was not to gain their assistance in the conduct of any important business; nay, this very act was designed to furnish a proof of their small numbers and thereby to bring

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Zonaras 7, 10.

being destroyed, but undertaking to abolish the senate altogether, he not only introduced no new member into it to make up the loss, but even communicated nothing of importance to those who were members. He used to call the senators together, to be sure; yet it was not to gain their assistance in the administration of any important business, but in order that their fewness might be made evident to all and that they might con-

6 τὰ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστα καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἢ καὶ μετὰ τῶν υἱέων, τοῦτο μὲν ὅπως μηδεὶς τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν δύναιτο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κατοκνῶν δημοσιεύειν ἐν οἷς ἐκακούργει, ἔπραττεν. δυσπρόσοδός τε καὶ δυσπροσήγορος ἦν, καὶ τῇ ὑπεροψίᾳ τῇ τε ὠμότητι τοσαύτῃ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο ὥστε καὶ Ὑπερήφανος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικληθῆναι. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τυραννικώτερον ἔπραττον, καί ποτε τῶν[1] πολιτῶν τινας ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ὄμμασι σταυροῖς τε γυμνοὺς προσέδησεν καὶ ῥάβδοις αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε ἐξευρεθὲν καὶ πολλάκις ἐγένετο.—V. 6 (p. 573).

Zonaras 7, 10.

καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἢ καὶ μετὰ τῶν υἱέων ἔπραττε. δυσπρόσιτός τε καὶ δυσπροσήγορος ἦν, καὶ τῇ ὑπεροψίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὠμότητι ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο πρὸς ἅπαντας, καὶ τυραννικώτερον αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ προσεφέροντο ἅπασι. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους ὑπόπτους ἔχων, ἐκ τῶν Λατίνων προσηταιρίσατο δορυφορικόν, καὶ ἐς τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τάξεις Λατίνους ἀνέμιξεν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν Λατῖνοι ἰσομοιρίας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τυχόντες εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ ἐντεῦθεν ὀφείλωσι, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἧττον ἐκφοβῶσιν αὐτόν, μηκέτι κατὰ σφᾶς ὄντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Λατίνοις συνοπλιτεύοντες.

[1] τῶν added by Bk.

humiliation and contempt upon them. Most of the business he carried on by himself or with the aid of his sons, partly in order that no one else should have any power, and partly for the reason that he shrank from publishing matters involving his own wrong-doing. He was difficult of access and hard to accost, and showed such great haughtiness and brutality toward all alike that he received as a result the nickname of Proud. Among other decidedly tyrannical deeds of himself and his sons, he once bound some citizens naked to stakes in the very Forum and before the eyes of the citizens, and scourged them to death with rods. This punishment, invented by him at that time, has often been inflicted.

Zonaras 7, 10.

sequently become objects of contempt. Most of the business he carried on by himself or with the aid of his sons. He was hard to approach and hard to accost, and showed great haughtiness and brutality toward all alike, and he as well as his sons adopted a decidedly tyrannical bearing toward everybody. Hence he looked with suspicion even upon the members of his body-guard and secured a new guard from the Latin nation, intermingling the Latins with Romans in the ranks. He intended that the Latins as the result of obtaining equal privileges with the Romans should owe him gratitude, and that the Romans should cause him less dread, since they would no longer be by themselves but would bear arms only in association with the Latins.

7 *Δίων ἐν β' βιβλίῳ* "*τὸν γὰρ πατέρα πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ὡς καὶ τυραννοῦντα καὶ παρασπονδοῦντα φανερῶς ἐκ συνθήκης λοιδορήσας.*"—Bekk. Anecd. p. 155, 1.

Zonaras 7, 10.

Γαουίνοις *δὲ μάχην συνῆψε, καὶ κακῶς μὲν ἠγωνίσατο, δόλῳ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐχειρώσατο. αὐτομολῆσαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς* Σέξτῳ *ὑπέθετο τῷ υἱῷ· ἵνα δ' εὐπρόσωπος αὐτῷ τῆς αὐτομολίας πρόφασις γένηται, ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὸν πατέρα φανερῶς ὡς τύραννον καὶ παράσπονδον ἐλοιδόρησεν, ὁ δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἐμαστίγωσέ τε καὶ ἀντημύνατο. εἶτα κατὰ συνθήκας πρὸς* Γαουίνους *ἐψευδαυτομόλησε, χρήματά τε καὶ ἑταίρους παρειληφώς. οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες τῇ σκηνῇ διά τε τὴν τοῦ* Ταρκυνίου *ὠμότητα καὶ ὅτι καὶ τότε πολλὰ καὶ ἀληθῆ τὸν πατέρα ἐκακηγόρει κἀντεῦθεν ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, ἐδέξαντό τε αὐτὸν ἀσμενέστατα καί τινας ἐπελεύσεις κατὰ τῆς* Ῥωμαϊκῆς *χώρας σὺν αὐτῷ ἐποιήσαντο καὶ οὐ μετρίως αὐτῇ ἐλυμήναντο. διὰ ταῦτα γοῦν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ χρήματα ἰδίᾳ τέ τισι παρεῖχε καὶ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνήλισκε δαψιλῶς, ᾑρέθη παρ' αὐτῶν στρατηγὸς καὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς πραγμάτων ἐπετράπη διοίκησιν. ἐπὶ τούτοις λάθρᾳ πέμψας τινὰ τὰ συμβάντα τε ἐγνώρισε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον γνώμην ᾔτησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ εἶπε μὲν τῷ πεμφθέντι οὐδέν, ἵνα μὴ ἴσως γνωσθεὶς ἑκών τι ἢ ἄκων ἐξείποι, εἰς δὲ*

BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "Uttering many strange reproaches publicly, as had been agreed upon, against his father, whom he charged with being a tyrant and a breaker of treaties."

Zonaras 7, 10.

He also joined battle with the people of Gabii and fared ill in the conflict, but overcame them by a ruse; for he suggested to his son Sextus that he desert to their side. And that there might be some plausible pretext for his desertion, Sextus reproached his father publicly as a tyrant and a breaker of treaties, and the latter flogged his son and put himself on the defensive. Then, according to arrangement, the son made his pretended desertion to the people of Gabii, taking along with him money and companions. The enemy believed the trick both on account of the cruelty of Tarquin and because at this time also the son spoke many words of truth in abusing his father and by his conduct seemed to have become thoroughly estranged from him. So they were very glad to receive him, and in his company made many incursions into Roman territory and did it no slight damage. For this reason, and because he privately gave some of them money and also spent it lavishly for public purposes, he was chosen general by them and was entrusted with the management of their government. Thereupon, sending a man secretly, he acquainted his father with what had occurred, and asked him for a plan regarding the future. The king made no answer to the emissary, in order that he might not, in case he were recognized, either willingly

12, 3b *Δίων β' βιβλίῳ "μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος ἦλθέ τε τῆς ὑστεραίας πρὸς αὐτούς."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 177, 20.

Zonaras 7, 10.

κῆπον εἰσαγαγὼν αὐτόν, ἐν ᾧ μήκωνες ἦσαν, τὰς κωδύας αὐτῶν τὰς ὑπερεχούσας ῥάβδῳ κατέκλασε καὶ εἰς γῆν κατεστόρεσε, καὶ οὕτω τὸν ἀγγελιαφόρον ἀπέπεμψε. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸ πραχθὲν τῷ Σέξτῳ ἀπήγγειλεν, ἀσυνέτως ἔχων τῆς πράξεως, ὁ δὲ τὸν νοῦν συνῆκε τῆς ὑποθέσεως, καὶ τοὺς ἀξιολογωτέρους τῶν Γαουίνων τοὺς μὲν λάθρᾳ φαρμάκοις διέφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ διά τινων δῆθεν λῃστῶν, ἄλλους δὲ καὶ ἐκ δικαστηρίων ἀπέκτεινε, συκοφαντίας κατ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα προδοσίας πλαττόμενος.

Καὶ ὁ Σέξτος οὖν οὕτω τοὺς Γαουίνους μετῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κρείττους ἀπώλλυε, τῷ πλήθει δὲ τὰ σφῶν διένειμε χρήματα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, τῶν μὲν διαφθαρέντων ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἠπατημένων καὶ πάντα πιστευόντων αὐτῷ, μετὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν αὐτομόλων, οὓς πολλοὺς διὰ τοῦτο συνήθροισε, κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῷ πατρὶ παραδέδωκε. καὶ ὃς ἐκείνης τῷ υἱῷ παρεχώρησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἄλλα ἐπολέμησεν ἔθνη.

Zonaras 7, 11.

11. Τοὺς δὲ τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμοὺς Ῥωμαίοις

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1279.

Περὶ ἧς δὲ Σιβύλλης νῦν ὁ Λυκόφρων λέγει,

BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "When, therefore, he had learned this, he came to them the following day."[1]

Zonaras 7, 10.

or unwillingly reveal something; but leading him into a garden where there were poppies, he struck off with his staff the heads that were most conspicuous and strewed the ground with them; hereupon he dismissed the message-bearer. The latter, without comprehending the affair, repeated the king's actions to Sextus, and he understood the meaning of the suggestion. And Sextus destroyed the more prominent men of Gabii, some secretly by poison, others by the hands of certain alleged robbers, and still others he put to death after judicial trial by concocting against them false accusations of traitorous dealings with his father.

Thus did Sextus deal with the men of Gabii; he destroyed the more influential citizens and distributed their wealth among the populace. Later when some had already perished and the rest had been cozened and thoroughly believed in him, assisted by the Roman captives and the deserters whom he had gathered in large numbers for the purpose, he seized the city and handed it over to his father. The king bestowed it upon his son, and himself made war upon other nations.

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11. The oracles of the Sibyl Tarquin obtained for

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1279.

The Sibyl about whom Lycophron is now speaking

[1] Macchioro (*Klio* 10, 347 ff.) holds that this refers to the plot against Turnus Herdonius; cf. Livy 1, 51, 3.

Zonaras 7, 11.

καὶ ἄκων προσεποιήσατο.. γυνὴ γάρ τις θεόμαντις, ἣν Σίβυλλαν ὠνόμαζον, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλήλυθε βιβλία τρία ἢ ἐννέα φέρουσα, καὶ ταῦτα πρίασθαι τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ ἐδίδου καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν βιβλίων ὡρίσατο. ἐκείνου δὲ μὴ προσεσχηκότος αὐτῇ, τὸ ἓν ἢ τὰ τρία τῶν βιβλίων κατέκαυσεν. ὡς δ' αὖθις ὠλιγώρει αὐτῆς ὁ Ταρκύνιος, κἀκ τῶν λοιπῶν ὁμοίως διέφθειρε. μελλούσης δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔτι λοιπὰ καταφλέξειν, ἠνάγκασαν αὐτὸν οἱ οἰωνισταὶ τὰ γοῦν σωζόμενα πρίασθαι. καὶ ὠνήσατο ταῦτα ὅσου τὰ πάντα κτήσασθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ δύο βουλευταῖς ἀνδράσι φυλάσσειν παρέδωκεν. ὡς δ' οὐ πάνυ τῶν γεγραμμένων συνίεσαν, εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα στείλαντες δύο ἄνδρας ἐκεῖθεν μισθοῦ ἤγαγον τοὺς ἀναγνωσομένους ταῦτα καὶ ἑρμηνεύσοντας. οἱ δὲ περίοικοι μαθεῖν ἐθελήσαντες ὅ τι ποτὲ τὸ διὰ τῶν βιβλίων εἴη δηλούμενον, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν φυλασσόντων αὐτὰ Μάρκον Ἀκίλλιον χρήμασιν ἀναπείσαντες μετεγράψαντό τινα. γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Μάρκος βύρσαις δύο

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1279.

Κυμαία ἦν, ἥτις τέθνηκεν ἐν χρόνοις Ταρκυνίου τοῦ Ὑπερηφάνου βίβλους προφητικὰς αὐτῆς τρεῖς ἢ ἐννέα καταλιποῦσα· ὧν ἢ μίαν ἢ τρεῖς ἐξωνήσαντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ὡς τὰς λοιπὰς τῆς ἐκείνης θεραπαίνης ἀναλωσάσης πυρί, ὅτι μὴ ἐδίδουν ἐκείνῃ ὅσον ἐζήτει χρυσόν. ὃ ὕστερον ποιήσαντες ἐξωνήσαντο ἢ μίαν τὴν καταλειφθεῖσαν ἢ τρεῖς καὶ ἔδοντο Μάρκῳ Ἀκιλίῳ φυλάσσειν. ζῶντα δὲ τοῦτον εἰς δέρμα βοὸς ἐμβαλόντες ἀνεῖλον, ὅτι

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the Romans quite against his will. A woman whom they called Sibyl, gifted with divine inspiration, came to Rome bringing three or nine books, and offered these to Tarquin for purchase, stating the price of the books. As he paid no attention to her, she burned one or three of the books. When again Tarquin scorned her, she destroyed part of the rest in a similar way. And she was about to burn up the others also when the augurs compelled him to purchase the few that were intact anyhow. He bought these for the price for which he might have secured them all, and delivered them to two senators to keep. Since they did not entirely understand the contents, they sent to Greece and hired two men to come from there to read and interpret these books. The people of the neighbourhood, desiring to learn just what it was that was revealed by the books, bribed Marcus Acilius, one of the custodians, and had some parts copied out. When this affair became known, Marcus was thrust between two hides sewn together and

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1279.

was the Cumaean, who died in the time of Tarquin the Proud, leaving behind three or nine of her prophetic books. Of these the Romans bought either one or three, since her servant had destroyed the rest by fire because they would not give her as much gold as she asked. This they later did, and bought either one that was left, or else three, and gave them to Marcus Acilius to keep. But because he lent them to be copied, they put him to death by enclosing him alive in the skin of an ox;

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συρραφείσαις ἐμβληθεὶς κατεποντώθη, ὃ ἐξ ἐκείνου μετέπειτα κατὰ τῶν πατροκτόνων ἐπεκράτησε γίνεσθαι, ἵνα μήτε ἡ γῆ μήτε τὸ ὕδωρ μήτε ὁ ἥλιος μιανθῇ αὐτοῦ θνήσκοντος.

Τὸν δὲ νεὼν τὸν ἐν τῷ Ταρπείῳ ὄρει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐχὴν ᾠκοδόμει. τῆς δὲ γῆς εἰς τὴν τῶν θεμελίων καταβολὴν ἀναρρηγνυμένης, ἀνδρὸς νεοθνῆτος κεφαλὴ ἀνεφάνη ἔναιμος ἔτι. ἔπεμψαν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἄνδρα Τυρσηνὸν τερατοσκόπον ἐρωτῶντες τὸ διὰ τοῦ φανέντος δηλούμενον· ὁ δὲ τὸ σημεῖον εἰς τὴν Τυρσηνίδα μεταθεῖναι μηχανησάμενος, διάγραμμα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τήν τε τῆς Ῥώμης θέσιν ἐντείνας καὶ τὸ Ταρπέϊον ὄρος, ἔμελλε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀνερέσθαι "ἡ Ῥώμη αὕτη ἐστί; τὸ ὄρος τοῦτό ἐστιν; ἡ κεφαλὴ ἐνταῦθα εὑρέθη;" ἵν' ἐκείνων μηδὲν ὑποτοπησάντων καὶ συμφησάντων ἡ δύναμις τοῦ σημείου εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ διεγέγραπτο μετασταίη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐτεχνάσατο, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ υἱέος ἐκείνου μαθόντες τὸ τέχνασμα, ἐρωτώμενοι "οὐκ ἐνταῦθα," εἶπον, "οἰκεῖται ἡ Ῥώμη, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Λατίῳ, καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐστί, καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐκείνῳ εὑρέθη." οὕτω δὲ τῷ τερατοσκόπῳ διακρουσθέντος τοῦ μηχανήματος πᾶσαν ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν

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πρὸς μεταγραφὴν ἔδοτο, τὴν δὲ βίβλον ἢ τὰς βίβλους ὀρύξαντες ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ μετὰ λάρνακος κατέχωσαν.

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drowned, in order that neither earth nor water nor sun might be defiled by his death; and beginning with him, this punishment has ever since prevailed in the case of parricides.

The temple on the Tarpeian mount he constructed in accordance with the vow of his father. And as the earth was being excavated for the laying of the foundations, there appeared the head of a man but lately dead, still with blood in it. Accordingly the Romans sent to a soothsayer of Etruria to ask what was signified by the phenomenon. Now he, with the design of making the portent apply to Etruria, made a sketch upon the ground and in it laid out the plan of Rome and the Tarpeian mount. He intended to ask the envoys: "Is this Rome? Is this the mount? Was the head found here?" They would suspect nothing and would assent, and so the efficacy of the portent would be transferred to the place where it had been shown in the diagram. This was his design, but the envoys learned of it from his son, and when the question was put to them, they answered: "The settlement of Rome is not here, but in Latium, and the mount is in the country of the Romans, and the head was found on that mount." Thus the design of the soothsayer was thwarted and they learned the whole truth and

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and for the book or books they dug a hole in the midst of the Forum and buried them along with a chest.

11, 10 Ὅτι Λούκιος Ἰούνιος, ἀδελφῆς Ταρκυνίου παῖς, φοβηθεὶς ἐπειδὴ τόν τε πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀπεκτόνει καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀφῄρητο, μωρίαν προσεποιήσατο, εἴ πως αὐτός γε περιγένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἔμφρον, ἄλλως τε

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ἔμαθον καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἀνήγγειλαν ὅτι κράτιστοι ἔσονται καὶ πλείστων ἄρξουσιν. ἐλπὶς οὖν κἀκ τούτου αὐτοῖς προσεγένετο. κἀντεῦθεν τὸ ὄρος μετωνομάσθη παρ' αὐτῶν Καπιτώλιον· καπίτα γὰρ τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ἡ κεφαλὴ ὀνομάζεται.

Δεηθεὶς δὲ χρημάτων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ὁ Ταρκύνιος Ἀρδεάταις ἐπήνεγκε πόλεμον· ὅθεν οὔτε χρήματα προσεκτήσατο καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσε. γεγόνασι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ σημεῖά τινα δηλωτικὰ τῆς ἐκπτώσεως. ἔκ τε γὰρ τοῦ κήπου αὐτοῦ γῦπες νεοσσοὺς ἐξήλασαν ἀετῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἀνδρῶνος, ἐν ᾧ συνειστιᾶτο φίλοις, ὄφις μέγας ἐπιφανεὶς αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς συσσίτους ἐξέβαλε. διά τοι ταῦτα ἐς Δελφοὺς Τίτον τε καὶ Ἀρροῦντα τοὺς υἱοὺς ἔπεμψε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος χρήσαντος τότε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὅτε κύων ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ χρήσαιτο, ἀγαθαῖς ἐλπίσιν ᾐώρητο, μὴ οἰηθείς ποτε γενέσθαι τὸ μάντευμα.

Ἦν δὲ Λούκιος Ἰούνιος ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Ταρκυνίου υἱός, οὗ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἔκτεινεν. οὗτος οὖν καὶ περὶ ἑαυτῷ δεδοικὼς

BOOK II

Lucius Junius, a son of Tarquin's sister, in terror after the king had killed his father [and brother] and had also seized their property, feigned stupidity, in the hope that he might possibly survive. For he well understood that every person possessed of his wits,

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Zonaras 7, 11.

reported it to their fellow-citizens, to the effect that they should be very powerful and rule a vast multitude. This, then, was another event that inspired them with hope, and they accordingly renamed the mount Capitolium; for *capita* in the Roman tongue means the "head."

Needing money for the building of the temple, Tarquin waged war upon the inhabitants of Ardea; but from this he not only gained no money, but was actually driven out of the kingdom. Signs also came in his way that indicated his expulsion. Out of his garden vultures drove the young of eagles, and in the men's hall, where he was having a banquet with his friends, a huge serpent appeared and drove him and his companions from the table. In consequence of these portents he sent his sons Titus and Arruns to Delphi. But as Apollo declared that he should be driven from his domain only when a dog should use human speech, he was inspired with confident hope, thinking that the oracle could never be fulfilled.

Now Lucius Junius was a son of Tarquin's sister; his father and brother Tarquin had killed. So he, fearing now for his own person, feigned stupidity,

καὶ ὅταν ἐν λαμπρότητι γένους ᾖ, δι' ὑποψίας τοῖς τυραννοῦσι γίγνεται. καὶ ἐπειδή γε ἅπαξ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὥρμησεν, ἀκριβέστατα αὐτὴν ὑπεκρίνετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Βροῦτος ἐκλήθη· τοὺς γὰρ εὐήθεις οὕτω πως οἱ Λατῖνοι προσηγόρευον. τῷ τε Τίτῳ καὶ Ἀρροῦντι ὥσπερ τι ἄθυρμα συμπεμφθεὶς βακτηρίαν τινὰ ἀνάθημα τῷ θεῷ φέρειν ἔλεγεν, μηδὲν μέγα ὅσα[1] γε ἰδεῖν ἔχουσαν.—M. 13 (p. 139).

11 Ἐν β' βιβλίῳ Δίων "ἔπειτα ἐν τοῦ Πυθίου εὑρέθη."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 139, 20.

12 Ὅτι τοῦ Βρούτου τό τε δῶρον[2] ἔσκωπτον, καὶ ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς θεωροῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς

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μωρίαν προσεποιήσατο, ταύτην ἑαυτοῦ προστησάμενος σώτειραν· διὸ καὶ Βροῦτος ἐπεκλήθη· τοὺς γὰρ εὐήθεις οὕτω τοῖς Λατίνοις ἔθος καλεῖν. πλαττόμενος οὖν τὸν μωραίνοντα τοῖς τοῦ Ταρκυνίου παισὶν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπιοῦσι συμπαρελήφθη ὡς ἄθυρμα. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἀνάθημα φέρειν ἔλεγε τῷ θεῷ· τὸ δ' ἦν βάκτρον τι μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἔχον χρηστόν, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὤφλίσκανε γέλωτα. τὸ δ' ἦν οἷον εἰκών τις τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν προσποιήσεως· κοιλάνας γὰρ αὐτὸ λάθρᾳ χρυσίον ἐνέχεεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος δι' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τὸ φρόνημα αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς μωρίας ἀτίμῳ σῶον καὶ ἔντιμον κατακρύπτεται. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν Ταρκυνίου υἱῶν

[1] ὅσα Bs., ὅσ Ms.

[2] After δῶρον the Ms. has the words τοῦτ' ἔστι τὴν βακτηρίαν ("*i.e.* the staff"), due to the excerptor.

especially when he is of a distinguished family, becomes an object of suspicion to tyrants. And when once he had set out on this course, he acted his part with the greatest precision, and for that reason was also called Brutus; for this was the name that the Latins gave to idiots. When sent along with Titus and Arruns as a butt, he carried a kind of staff as a votive offering, he said, to the god, though it had no great value so far as one could see.

Dio, Book II. "After that he was found in the Pythian god's temple."

They made sport of Brutus, not only for his gift, but also because, when the oracle replied to the

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employing this means of safety as a screen for his life. Hence he was nicknamed Brutus, for the Latins were accustomed to give this name to idiots. While acting the fool he was taken along by the sons of Tarquin as a butt, when they journeyed to Delphi. And he said that he was carrying a votive offering to the god; this was a kind of staff, apparently possessing no point of excellence, so that he became a laughing-stock for it all the more. It furnished a sort of image of the affliction that he feigned. For he had hollowed it out and had secretly poured in gold, indicating thereby that there was likewise concealed behind the disesteem which he suffered for his stupidity a sound and estimable intelligence. Now when the sons of Tarquin inquired

βασιλείας, ὅστις αὐτὴν διαδέξεται, ἐπερωτήσασι θεσπίσαντος τὸν πρῶτον τὴν μητέρα φιλήσαντα τὸ κράτος τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἕξειν, τὴν γῆν ὡς καὶ καταπεσὼν ἄλλως κατεφίλησε, νομίσας αὐτὴν μητέρα ἁπάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι.—M. 14 (p. 140).

13 *Ὅτι ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς Ταρκυνίους ἐκ τοιᾶσδε αἰτίας κατέλυσε. συνδειπνοῦντές ποτε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν πολιορκίᾳ οἵ τε τοῦ Ταρκυνίου παῖδες καὶ Κολλατῖνος καὶ Βροῦτος, ἅτε καὶ ἡλικιῶται καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν ὄντες, ἐς λόγον τινὰ περὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης τῶν γυναικῶν σφων, κἀκ τούτου καὶ*
14 *ἐς ἔριν, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γαμετὴν ἑκάστου προκρίνοντος, ἦλθον. καὶ (ἐτύγχανον γὰρ*[1] *πᾶσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀποῦσαι) ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα τῆς νυκτός, πρὶν καταγγέλτους σφᾶς γενέσθαι, πρὸς πάσας ἅμα αὐτὰς ἀφιππεῦσαι. ποιήσαντες δὲ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐν πότῳ*[2] *τινὶ εὗρον, Λουκρη-*

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τίς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς διαδέξεται, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν πρῶτον τὴν μητέρα φιλήσαντα τὸ κράτος ἕξειν. ὃ συνεὶς ὁ Βροῦτος ὡς τυχαίως καταπεσὼν τὴν γῆν κατεφίλησεν, αὐτὴν μητέρα πάντων ὑπάρχειν κρίνας ὀρθῶς.

Οὗτος ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς Ταρκυνίους κατέλυσεν, αἰτίαν τὸ περὶ τὴν Λουκριτίαν συμβεβηκὸς προστησάμενος, καὶ ἄλλως μισουμένους παρὰ πάντων

[1] *γὰρ* added by Val. [2] *πότῳ* Rk., *λόγῳ* Ms.

ambassadors, upon their inquiring which should succeed to their father's kingdom, that the first to kiss his mother should obtain the power over the Romans, he kissed the earth, pretending to have fallen down accidentally; for he regarded her as the mother of all mankind.

Brutus overthrew the Tarquins for the following reason. During the siege of Ardea the sons of Tarquin were one day dining with Brutus and Collatinus, since these two were of their own age and relatives; and they fell into a discussion and finally into a dispute about the virtue of their wives, each one giving the preference to his own spouse. And, as all the women happened to be absent from the camp, they decided straightway that night, before they could be announced, to take horse and ride away to all of them simultaneously. This they did, and found all engaged in revelry except Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus,

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who should succeed to their father's kingdom, the god replied that the first who kissed his mother should obtain the power. Then Brutus, comprehending, fell down as if by chance and kissed the earth, rightly deeming her to be the mother of all.

This Brutus overthrew the Tarquins, taking as his justification the fate of Lucretia, though these princes were, quite apart from that, hated by all for their

15 *τίαν δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κολλατίνου γυναῖκα ἐριουργοῦσαν
κατέλαβον. περιβόητον οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένην
ὁ Σέξτος αἰσχῦναι ἐπεθύμησεν· τάχα μὲν γὰρ καὶ
ἔρωτα αὐτῆς ἔσχε ὑπερκαλλοῦς οὔσης, ἐπὶ πλέον
δὲ ὅμως τὴν δόξαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ σῶμα διαφθεῖραι
ἠθέλησε. καί ποτε τηρήσας τὸν Κολλατῖνον
πρὸς τοῖς Ῥουτούλοις ὄντα ἠπείχθη μὲν ἐς τὴν
Κολλατίαν, καὶ νυκτὸς πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς καὶ πρὸς
οἰκείαν γυναῖκα ἐλθὼν καὶ σίτου καὶ καταλύσεως
16 ἔτυχε. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀναπείθειν αὐτὴν
ἐπειρᾶτο συγγενέσθαι οἱ, ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν,
ἐβιάζετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ οὕτως αὐτῷ
προεχώρει, καινὸν δή τινα τρόπον ἐξεῦρεν, ὑφ'*

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διὰ τὸ τυραννικόν τε καὶ βίαιον. ἡ δὲ Λουκριτία θυγάτηρ μὲν ἦν Λουκριτίου Σπουρίου, ἀνδρὸς τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου ἑνός, γαμετὴ δὲ Κολλατίνου Ταρκυνίου τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐπί τε κάλλει καὶ σωφροσύνῃ τυγχάνουσα περιβόητος· ταύτην Σέξτος ὁ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου υἱὸς αἰσχῦναι σπούδασμα ἔθετο, οὐχ οὕτω τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς ἐρασθεὶς ὅσον τῇ ἐπὶ τῷ σώφρονι δόξῃ ἐπιβουλεύων αὐτῆς. τηρήσας οὖν τὸν Κολλατῖνον τῆς οἰκίας ἀποδημοῦντα, νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς πρὸς γαμετὴν συγγενοῦς κατέλυσε παρ' αὐτῇ. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν λόγοις ἐπείρα συγγενέσθαι αὐτῇ, εἶτα καὶ βίαν προσῆγεν· ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν, ἀποσφάξειν ἠπείλησεν· ὡς δὲ

whom they discovered at work on her wool. When this fact about her became noised abroad, Sextus conceived a desire to outrage her. Perchance he even felt some love for her, since she was of surpassing beauty; still, it was rather her reputation than her body that he desired to ruin. He watched for an occasion when Collatinus was among the Rutuli, hurried to Collatia, and coming to her by night as to a kinswoman, obtained both food and lodging. At first he tried to persuade her to grant her favours to him, but meeting with no success, he attempted force. When he found he could make no progress by this means either, he devised a novel plan by which, strangely

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despotic and violent ways. Lucretia was the daughter of Lucretius Spurius, a member of the senate, and she was wife of the distinguished Tarquinius Collatinus, and was renowned for her beauty and chastity. Sextus, the son of Tarquin, set his heart upon outraging her, not so much because he was inspired with passion by her beauty as because he chose to plot against her chaste reputation. So, having waited for Collatinus to be away from home, he came by night to her, as to the wife of a relative, and lodged at her house. And first he tried by persuasion to secure illicit pleasure from her and then he resorted to violence. When he could not succeed, he threatened to slay her. But inasmuch as she scorned

οὗ τὸ παραδοξότατον ἠνάγκασεν αὐτὴν ἑκοῦσαν ὑβρισθῆναι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀποσφάξειν αὐτὴν εἶπε, παρ' οὐδὲν ἔθετο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τινα προσκαταχρήσεσθαι[1] ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ὀλιγώρως
17 ἤκουσεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι παρακατακλινεῖν τε αὐτῇ τὸ τοῦ δούλου σῶμα καὶ λόγον ὡς καὶ συγκαθεύδοντάς σφας εὑρὼν ἀποκτείνειε διαδώσειν ἐπηπείλησεν, οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτὸν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ καὶ πιστευθῇ τοῦθ'[2] οὕτω γεγονέναι, εἵλετο μιχθεῖσα αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν ἐξειποῦσα ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ παραχρῆμα τελευτήσασα ἀδοξῆ-
18 σαι. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' οὐκ ἄκουσα δὴ ἐμοιχεύθη, παρασκευάσασα δὲ ἐκ τούτου ξιφίδιον ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον μετεπέμψατο τόν τε ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἦλθον, κατεδάκρυε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἀναστενάξασα, "πάτερ,"

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καὶ τοῦ θανάτου κατωλιγώρει, δοῦλον παρακατακλινεῖν αὐτῇ ἐπηπείλησε καὶ ἄμφω κτανεῖν καὶ λόγον διαδώσειν ὡς εὑρὼν αὐτοὺς συγκαθεύδοντας ἔκτεινε. τοῦτο τὴν Λουκριτίαν ἐτάραξε, καὶ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ πιστευθείη ταῦθ' οὕτω γενέσθαι, ἐνέδωκε. καὶ μοιχευθεῖσα ξιφίδιον ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ἔθετο, καὶ μεταπεμψαμένη τόν τε ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα, συνεπομένων αὐτοῖς τοῦ τε Βρούτου καὶ Ποπλίου Οὐαλλερίου, κατεδάκρυσε καὶ στενάξασα

[1] προσκαταχρήσεσθαι Rk., προσκαταστήσασθαι Ms.
[2] καὶ πιστευθῇ τοῦθ' οὕτω Bk., comparing Zon., καταπιστευθῇ οὕτωι Ms.

enough, he compelled her to submit voluntarily to be outraged. To his declaration that he would slay her she paid no attention, and to his statement that he would make away also with one of the servants she listened in contempt. But when he further threatened to lay the body of the servant beside her and spread the report that he had found them sleeping together and killed them, she could no longer endure it, but, fearing it might really be believed that this had so happened, chose to yield to him and die after giving an account of the affair rather than lose her good name in perishing at once. For this reason she did not refuse to commit adultery, but afterward she made ready a dagger beneath the pillow and sent for her husband and her father. As soon as they had come she wept bitterly and sighed, then said:

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even death, he threatened furthermore to lay a slave beside her and to kill them both and spread the report that he had found them sleeping together and had killed them. This rendered Lucretia distraught, and, fearing that it might be believed to have so happened, she surrendered. And after the act of adultery she placed a dagger beneath the pillow, and sent for her husband and her father. When they came, accompanied by Brutus and Publius Valerius, she wept bitterly and sighed, then related the whole

εἶπε, "(τὸν γὰρ ἄνδρα μᾶλλον ἢ σὲ αἰσχύνομαι) οὐδέν μοι χρηστὸν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ πέπρακται. ἀλλά με Σέξτος ἐβιάσατο ἀπειλήσας δούλῳ τινὶ συναποκτενεῖν ὡς καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ καθεύδουσαν λαβών. αὕτη γάρ με ἡ ἀπειλὴ ἁμαρτεῖν ἠνάγκασεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πιστεύσητε τοῦθ' οὕτω γεγονέναι.
19 καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν (γυνὴ γάρ εἰμι) τὰ πρέποντα ἐμαυτῇ ποιήσω· ὑμεῖς δ' εἴπερ ἄνδρες ἐστὲ καὶ τῶν γαμετῶν τῶν τε παίδων ὑμῶν προορᾶσθε, τιμωρήσατε μὲν ἐμοί, ἐλευθερώσατε δὲ ἑαυτούς,[1] καὶ δείξατε τοῖς τυράννοις οἵων ἄρα ὑμῶν ὄντων οἵαν γυναῖκα ὕβρισαν." τοιαῦτα ἄττα εἰποῦσα οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν ἀντακοῦσαί τι, ἀλλ' εὐθέως τὸ ξιφίδιον ὑφελκύσασα αὐτὴ ἑαυτὴν ἐφόνευσεν.—V. 7 (p. 574).

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τὸ δρᾶμα πᾶν διηγήσατο· εἶτα ἐπήγαγε "καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ πρέποντα ἐμαυτῇ ποιήσω, ὑμεῖς δὲ εἴπερ ἄνδρες ἐστέ, τιμωρήσατε μὲν ἐμοί, ἐλευθερώθητε δὲ αὐτοί, καὶ δείξατε τοῖς τυράννοις οἵων ὑμῶν ὄντων οἵαν γυναῖκα ὕβρισαν." τοιαῦτα εἰποῦσα εὐθὺς ξιφίδιον ὑφελκύσασα κατέκτεινεν ἑαυτήν.

Ἀκούσαντες δ' ἐκεῖνοι ταῦτα καὶ θεασάμενοι ὑπερήλγησαν. καὶ τῷ Ποπλίῳ συμβούλῳ καὶ προθύμῳ πρὸς τοὔργον ὁ Βροῦτος χρησάμενος τήν τε γυναῖκα πολλοῖς τῶν τοῦ δήμου κειμένην ὑπέδειξε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς δημηγορήσας τὸ πρὸς

[1] ἑαυτούς Bs., αὐτοί Ms.

"Father,—I can confess it to you with less shame than to my husband,—it was no honourable deed I did last night, but Sextus forced me, threatening to kill me and a slave together and to pretend he had found me sleeping with the man. It was this threat that compelled me to sin, to prevent you from really believing that such a thing had taken place. Now I, because I am a woman, will treat my case as becomes me; but do you, if you are men and care for your wives and for your children, avenge me, free yourselves, and show the tyrants what manner of men you are and what manner of woman of yours they have outraged." When she had spoken to this effect, she did not wait for any reply, but immediately drew the dagger from its hiding-place and slew herself.

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story. Thereupon she added: "Now I will treat my case as becomes me; but do you, if you are men, avenge me, free yourselves, and show the tyrants what manner of men you are and what manner of woman of yours they have outraged." When she had spoken thus, she immediately drew the dagger from its hiding-place and killed herself.

When the men had heard and beheld these things, they were greatly grieved. But Brutus, availing himself of the advice and zeal of Publius in the emergency, showed the woman to many of the people as she lay there, and he addressed the others, causing them to manifest their hatred

20 *Δίων β' βιβλίῳ "καὶ ἐκχωρήσας ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆς πολλαχῇ μὲν τῶν προσοίκων ἐπείρασεν."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 164, 25.

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τοὺς τυράννους μῖσος ἐκφῆναι πεποίηκε· καὶ μηκέτι δέξασθαι συνέθεντο τὸν Ταρκύνιον. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς ἄλλοις, αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξιππάσατο, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ δήμῳ συνέπεισε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ψηφίσασθαι. ὁ δέ γε Ταρκύνιος τὰ συμβεβηκότα μαθὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐπειχθεὶς ἀπεώσθη, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ταρκυνησίους μετὰ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοφρόνων κατέφυγε, μόνης τῆς Τουλλίας, ὡς λόγος, ἑαυτὴν ἀνελούσης.

Dio, Book II. "And departing from Roman territory, he [Tarquin] sounded the neighbouring peoples on many occasions."

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openly against the tyrants; and they made a compact not to receive Tarquin again. After accomplishing thus much and entrusting the city to the others, Brutus himself rode off to the camp, where he persuaded the soldiers to adopt the same course as the people had chosen. And when Tarquin learned of what had occurred and hastened toward the city, he was repulsed and fled to Tarquinii, accompanied by his children and the rest of his followers, with the single exception of Tullia; she, as the story goes, destroyed herself.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK III

12, 1 Ὅτι οἱ ὅμιλοι πάντες τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τοὺς μεταχειρίζοντας αὐτὰ κρίνουσι, καὶ ὁποίους ἂν τούτους αἰσθάνωνται ὄντας, τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐκεῖνα νομίζουσιν εἶναι.—M. 15 (p. 140).

2 Πᾶς[1] γάρ τις τὸ ἀπείρατον[2] πρὸ τοῦ κατεγνωσμένου προαιρεῖται, μεγάλην ἐς τὸ ἄδηλον ἐλπίδα παρὰ τὸ μεμισημένον ἤδη ποιούμενος.—M. 16 (*ib.*).

3ª Πᾶσαι μὲν γὰρ μεταβολαὶ σφαλερώταταί εἰσι, μάλιστα δὲ αἱ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις πλεῖστα δὴ καὶ μέγιστα καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ πόλεις βλάπτουσι. διὸ οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεί, κἂν μὴ βέλτιστα ᾖ, ἀξιοῦσιν ἐμμένειν ἢ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἄλλοτε ἄλλα ἀεὶ πλανᾶσθαι.—M. 17 (*ib.*).

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12. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ταρκύνιος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τυραννήσας ἐνιαυτοὺς οὕτως ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἀπέκλιναν καὶ αὐτὸν εἵλοντο ἄρχοντα. ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἡ μοναρχία βασιλεία δοκῇ, καὶ συνάρχοντα αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο τὸν τῆς Λουκριτίας ἐκείνης ἄνδρα τὸν Κολλατῖνον Ταρκύνιον, ὡς ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους πιστευόμενον ἔχειν διὰ τὴν βίαν τῆς

[1] πᾶς St., πᾶν Ms. [2] ἀπείρατον Bk., ἀπειρότατον Ms.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK III

All crowds judge measures by the men who direct them, and of whatever sort they perceive the men to be, they believe that the measures are of the same sort.[1] B.C. 509

Every one prefers the untried to the well known, attaching great hope to the uncertain in comparison with what has already gained his hatred.

All changes are very dangerous, and especially do those in governments work the greatest and most numerous evils to both individuals and states. Sensible men, therefore, choose to remain under the same forms continually, even if they be not the best, rather than by changing, now to one, now to another, to be continually unsettled.

Zonaras 7, 12.

12. Thus Tarquin was deprived of his power, after ruling twenty-five years; and the Romans turned to B.C. 509 Brutus and chose him ruler. In order, however, that the rule of one man might not suggest the kingly power, they elected also, as joint-ruler with him, the husband of Lucretia, Tarquinius Collatinus. He was believed to be hostile to the tyrants because of the outrage done his wife. Now from Tarquin

[1] Boissevain believes the first six of these fragments (1, 2, 3ᵃ, 8, 9, 11) are from Dio's comments on the change in the form of government, or possibly from various speeches supposed to be delivered at that time; 4, 5ᵃ, 5ᵇ from the speeches of Tarquin's envoys to the Romans, and 6, 7, 10 from Brutus' replies. Macchioro (*Klio* 10, 349 ff.) holds that 4, 5ᵃ, 5ᵇ, 6, 7, 10, 11, are from the arguments urged in private by the

8 *Ὅτι καὶ τὰ βουλήματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς τὰς τύχας ἕκαστοι κτῶνται, καὶ ὁποῖα ἂν τὰ παρόντα αὐτοῖς ᾖ, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ οἰήματα λαμβάνουσιν.*—M. 18 (p. 141).

9 *Ὅτι τὸ τῆς βασιλείας πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἀρετῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ συνηθείας, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, πολλῆς δεῖται, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ἄνευ ἐκείνων ἁψάμενόν τινα σωφρονῆσαι. πολλοὶ γοῦν ὥσπερ ἐς ὕψος τι μέγα παρὰ λόγον ἀρθέντες οὐκ ἤνεγκαν τὴν μετεώρισιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοί τε καταπεσόντες ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἔπταισαν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων πάντα συνηλόησαν.*—M. 19 (*ib.*).

11 *γ' Δίωνος βιβλίῳ "οὐχ ὅπως πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν βασιλευόντων σφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῶν παραδυναστευόντων αὐτοῖς γίγνεται."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 130, 23 and 164, 32.

4 *Ἐν γ' βιβλίῳ Δίωνος "οὗ γε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἀμέμπτως ὑμῶν ἦρξεν."*—*Ib.* p. 120, 24.

5[a] *Δίωνος γ' βιβλίῳ "ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲν ἂν μεῖζον τεκμήριον λάβοιτε ἢ ὅτι τοῦ τε βίου τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐφίεται."*—*Ib.* p. 139, 26.

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γυναικός. ἐκ δέ γε Ταρκυνίου πρέσβεις εἰς Ῥώμην ἧκον περὶ καθόδου διαλεγόμενοι· ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἤνυον . . . . . .

Every person comes to possess wishes and desires according to his fortunes, and whatever his circumstances be, of like nature are also the opinions he acquires.

The business of kingship, more than any other, demands not merely excellence of character, but also great understanding and experience, and it is not possible without these qualities for the man who takes hold of it to show moderation. Many, for example, as if raised unexpectedly to some great height, have not endured their elevation, but being overcome with giddiness, have fallen and not only brought disaster to themselves but at the same time shattered all the interests of their subjects.

Dio, Book III. "It is done not merely by the actual men who rule them, but also by those who share the power with those rulers."

Dio, Book III. "Whose father also ruled you blamelessly."

Dio, Book III. "Of the fact that he loves you, you could obtain no better proof than his eagerness to live among you."

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there came envoys to Rome to discuss his restoration; but when they found they were making no progress, . . .

envoys of Tarquin upon the young aristocrats, while 1, 2, 3[a], 8, 9 are Dio's own comments on the conspiracy; but this arrangement contravenes the order of frgs. 9, 10 in Mai's Ms., and is otherwise less probable.

5[b] *γ' βιβλίῳ Δίων "καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ κομίσασθαι τὰ προϋπάρξαντά οἱ ποιεῖται."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 164, 28.

6 *Δίων βιβλίῳ γ' "πῶς δ' ἂν καὶ λυσιτελήσειέ τινι τοῦτο πρᾶξαι;"*—*Ib.* p. 155, 14.

7 *Δίωνος γ' βιβλίον "ὥσπερ που καὶ Ῥωμύλος ἡμῖν ἐπέσκηψεν."*—*Ib.* p. 139, 29.

10 Καὶ *περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐξ ὧν ἔπραξαν τεκμήρασθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ὧν πλάττονται ἱκετεύοντες ἀπατηθῆτε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνόσια ἔργα ἀπὸ γνώμης ἀληθοῦς ἑκάστῳ γίγνεται, συλλαβὰς δ' ἄν τις εὐπρεπεῖς συμπλάσειεν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησέ τις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀφ' ὧν φησι ποιήσειν, κρίνετε.*[1]—M. 20 (p. 141).

13 *Δίων γ' βιβλίῳ*[2] *"πένθος αἱ γυναῖκες ἐνιαυτῷ ὅλῳ ἐποιήσαντο."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 162, 26.

2 *Ὅτι* Οὐαλέριον, *τὸν συνάρχοντα*[3] Βρούτου,

Zonaras 7, 12.

Ἦσαν *δὲ τούτων τινὲς τῷ* Κολλατίνῳ *προσήκοντες· δι' οὓς καὶ ὠργίζετο. ὅθεν ὁ* Βροῦτος *οὕτω κατ' αὐτοῦ τὸν δῆμον παρώξυνεν ὡς μικροῦ καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν ἠνάγκασαν αὐτὸν ἀπειπεῖν. εἵλοντο δὲ ἀντ' ἐκείνου συνάρχοντα* Πόπλιον Οὐαλλέριον, *ὃς* Ποπλικόλας *προσωνομάσθη· δηλοῖ δ' ἡ κλῆσις ἐξελληνιζομένη δημοκηδῆ ἢ δημοτικώτατον.*

[1] *κρίνετε* v. Herw., *κρίνεται* Ms.
[2] *Δίων γ' βιβλίῳ* supplied by Bs., following de Boer.
[3] *συνάρχοντα* Mai, *ἄρχοντα* Ms.

Dio, Book III. "And he is particularly anxious to recover the property that was originally his."

Dio, Book III. "But how would it pay anybody to do this?"

Dio, Book III. "Even as Romulus also enjoined upon us."

And with regard to the future, base your judgment upon what they have done, but do not be deceived by the false professions they make when suppliants. For unholy deeds proceed in every case from a man's real purpose, yet any one may concoct creditable phrases. Judge, accordingly, by what a man has done, not by what he says he will do.

Dio, Book III. "The women made lamentation for a whole year."[1]

Valerius, the colleague of Brutus, although he had

Zonaras 7, 12.

Some of these [conspirators put to death by Brutus] were relatives of Collatinus, who was angry on their account. Accordingly, Brutus so aroused the people against Collatinus that they all but slew him with their own hands; however, they did not do this, but forced him to resign his office. In his place they elected as Brutus' colleague Publius Valerius, whose cognomen was Publicola; this appellation, translated, means Friend of the People, or Most Democratic.

[1] Probably a reference to the death of Brutus.

καίπερ δημοτικώτατον ἀνδρῶν γενόμενον, ὅμως αὐτοεντίᾳ μικροῦ ὁ ὅμιλος κατεχρήσατο· ἐπιθυμεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν μοναρχίας ὑπετόπησαν. καὶ ἐφόνευσαν ἄν, εἰ μή σφας διὰ ταχέων φθάσας ἐθώπευσεν. ἐσελθὼν γὰρ ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τάς τε ῥάβδους ἔκλινεν, ὀρθαῖς πρότερον ταύταις χρώμενος, καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις τοὺς συνδεδεμένους σφίσι περιεῖλε· σχηματίσας δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ ταπεινότατον, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἐσκυθρώπασε καὶ κατεδάκρυσεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐφθέγξατό ποτε, σμικρᾷ καὶ δεδιυίᾳ τῇ φωνῇ ὑποτρέμων εἶπεν.—M. 21 (p. 141).

2ᵃ *Τῷ γὰρ Μάρκῳ ἀνελθόντι τε ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ποιουμένῳ . . .*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 162, 28.

3 *Ὅτι τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νεὼν ἐθείωσεν ἀπὸ κλήρου ὁ Ὁράτιος, καίτοι τοῦ Οὐαλερίου τόν τε υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τεθνηκέναι φήσαντος, καὶ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτὴν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἀγγελθῆναι παρακευάσαντος, ἵν' ὑπό τε τοῦ πάθους, καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' ἄλλως ὅσιον ἦν ἐν πένθει τινὰ ὄντα ἱεροποιεῖν, παραχωρήσειέν οἱ*
4 *τῆς τοῦ ἔργου ἱερώσεως.*[1] *ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐκ ἠπίστησε μὲν τῷ ῥηθέντι (καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ ἀξιοπίστων ἐθρυλήθη), οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξέστη, ἀλλ' ἄταφον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ παιδὸς ὡς καὶ ἀλλότριον, ὅπως μηδὲν τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁσίᾳ προσήκειν δόξῃ, κελεύσας τισὶν ἐᾶσαι, πάνθ' οὕτω τὰ καθήκοντα διετέλεσεν.*—V. 8 (p. 577).

[1] *ἱερώσεως* Reim., *ἱδρύσεως* Ms.

proved himself the most democratic of men, came near being murdered by the multitude with their own hands; for they suspected him of being eager to become sole sovereign. And they would indeed have slain him, had he not quickly anticipated their action by courting their favour. For upon entering the assembly he lowered the fasces, which he had formerly carried upright, and took away the axes that were bound up with them. After he had in this way assumed an attitude of the deepest humility, he kept a sad countenance for some time, and wept bitterly; and when he at last managed to utter a sound, he spoke in a low, fearful voice, with the suggestion of a quaver.

For to Marcus, when he had proceeded up to the Capitol and was offering vows to the gods in view of the present state of affairs . . .

The temple of Jupiter was dedicated by Horatius, as determined by lot, although Valerius made the declaration that his son was dead, and arranged to have this news brought to him during the very performance of his sacred office, in order that Horatius, under the blow of the misfortune and because in general it was impious for any one in grief to fulfil the duties of priest, should yield to him the dedication of the structure. Horatius, although he did not doubt the report,—for it was noised abroad by many trustworthy persons,—did not, however, surrender his ministry; on the contrary, after bidding them leave unburied the body of his son, as if it were a stranger's, in order that it might not seem to concern his sacred office, he then performed all the necessary ceremonies.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK IV

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 201–23.

Λάρτας Πορσέννας Τυρρηνὸς ἢ Κλάρας γε Πορσέννας | κατὰ τῆς Ῥώμης ἦν χωρῶν στρατεύματι μεγάλῳ. | Μώκιος δὲ Ῥωμαῖός τις γενναῖος στρατιώτης | ὅπλα καὶ σχῆμα Τυρρηνῶν ἠμφιεσμένος τότε | χωρεῖ κατόπτης κατ' αὐτῶν κτεῖναι Πορσένναν θέλων. | συγκαθημένου τούτῳ δὲ τότε τοῦ γραμματέως, | ὃς ἦν τῇ γλώσσῃ Τυρρηνῶν Κλουσῖνος κεκλημένος, | ἀμφιγνοῶν ὁ Μώκιος, τίς βασιλεὺς τυγχάνει, | ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Κλουσῖνον ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. | ὡς συσχεθέντα τοῦτον δὲ ἀνέκρινε Πορσέννας· | "τί ποτε τοῦτο δέδρακας; τί προπαθὼν ἐκ τούτου;" | "οὐ Τυρρηνός," ἐβόησε, "Ῥωμαῖος δὲ τυγχάνω, | ἄλλοι τε τριακόσιοι ὁμοῖοί μοι τὴν γνώμην | σὲ νῦν θηρῶσιν ἀνελεῖν." τοῦτο ψευδῶς δ' εἰρήκει, | τῆς δὲ χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς εἰς πῦρ ἐμβεβλημένης | αὐτὸς ὡς ἄλλου πάσχοντος ἔβλεπε πρὸς Πορσένναν· | τούτου δ' εἰπόντος "πρὸς ἡμᾶς τί ἀτενῶς προσβλέπεις;" | ἔφη "τὸ πῶς πεπλάνημαι καὶ σὲ μὲν οὐκ ἀνεῖλον, | ἀντὶ δὲ σοῦ ἀπέκτεινα, ὃν ἔδοξα Πορσένναν." | εἰπόντος τοῦ Πορσέννα δέ "γενήσῃ νῦν μου φίλος," | ὁ Μώκιος ἀντέλεξεν "εἰ γένῃ σὺ Ῥωμαίων." | θαυ-

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK IV

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 201–23.

Larta Porsenna, an Etruscan, or, perhaps, Klara Porsenna, was proceeding against Rome with a great army. But Mucius, a noble Roman soldier, after equipping himself in arms and dress of Etruscans, then set out to spy upon them, wishing to kill Porsenna. With the latter at that time was sitting his secretary, who in the Etruscan tongue was called Clusinus; and Mucius, doubtful which was the king, killed Clusinus instead of the king. He was arrested, and when Porsenna asked him, "Why in the world did you do this thing? What injury had you received from him?" the other cried out: "I am really not (an) Etruscan but Roman; and three hundred others of like mind with myself are now hunting you to slay you." This he had spoken falsely; and with his right hand thrust into the fire he gazed on Porsenna as though another were suffering; and when the prince inquired, "Why do you gaze fixedly upon us?" he said: "Reflecting how I erred and failed to slay you but in your stead killed one whom I thought Porsenna." And when Porsenna exclaimed, "You shall now become my friend!" Mucius rejoined, "If you become the Romans' friend." Porsenna, admiring

14 Δίωνος δ'. βιβλίῳ "καὶ τῇ γε κόρῃ καὶ ὅπλα, ὥς φασί τινες, καὶ ἵππον ἐδωρήσατο."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 133, 8.

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 201–23.

μάσας ὁ Πορσέννας δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν ἄνδρα | φίλος Ῥωμαίοις γίνεται καὶ παύει τὰ τῆς μάχης.

Schol. Ioann. Tzetz., Epist., p. 8 (Pressel).

Κλουσῖνος *ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ τοῦ* Πορσέννα *γραμματεύς, καθά φησι* Δίων.

Zonaras' account of Mucius (7, 12) is from Plutarch, except (1) Κόρδος [M.'s cognomen], (2) Σκαιόλας *τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ὃ δηλοῖ τὸν μονόχειρα ἢ μὴ ἀρτιόχειρα*, (3) *τὸν γραμματέα αὐτοῦ συγκαθήμενον αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμοίως ἔχοντα τῆς στολῆς.*

Zonaras 7, 12.

Καὶ *μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν οἱ* Ταρκύνιοι *τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναλαβεῖν, τοῖς ὁμοροῦσι* Ῥωμαίοις *ἔθνεσι συμμαχούμενοι, πάντες δὲ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐφθάρησαν, πλὴν τοῦ γέροντος, ὃς καὶ* Σούπερβος *ἐκαλεῖτο· εἴποι ἄν τις* Ἕλλην *ἀνὴρ* Ὑπερήφανος. *κἀκεῖνος δὲ μετέπειτα εἰς* Κύμην *τὴν ἐν* Ὀπικίᾳ *γενόμενος ἐτελεύτησεν.*

Zonaras 7, 13.

13. Καὶ *τὴν τῶν χρημάτων διοίκησιν ἄλλοις ἀπένειμεν, ἵνα μὴ τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντες οἱ ὑπατεύοντες μέγα δύνωνται. ὅτε πρῶτον οἱ ταμίαι γίνεσθαι ἤρξαντο· κοιαίστωρας δ' ἐκάλουν αὐτούς. οἳ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς θανασίμους δίκας ἐδίκαζον, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην διὰ τὰς ἀνα-*

BOOK IV

Dio, Book IV. "And he [Porsenna] presented to the maiden [Cloelia] not only arms, as some say, but also a horse."

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 201–23.

the man for his valour, became a friend to the Romans and checked the tide of battle.

Schol. Ioann. Tzetz. Epist., p. 8 (Pressel).

Clusinus was the name of Porsenna's secretary, according to Dio.

Zonaras' account of Mucius, based upon Plutarch, contains the following from Dio: (1) Cordus [cognomen of Mucius]; (2) nicknamed Scaevola, which means the One-handed, or Maimed; (3) his secretary, who was seated beside him and similarly dressed.

Zonaras 7, 12.

After this the Tarquins endeavoured on several occasions, by forming alliances with tribes bordering on Roman territory, to recover the kingdom; but they all perished in the battles save the sire, who was also called Superbus, that is, Proud. Subsequently he found his way to Cumae, among the Oscans, and there died.

Zonaras 7, 13.

13. And the management of the funds he [Publicola] assigned to others in order that the men holding the consulship might not possess the great influence that would spring from their having the revenues in their power. Now for the first time treasurers began to be appointed, and they called them quaestors. These in the first place tried capital cases, from which fact they have obtained this title

15[b] *Δίωνος δ' βιβλίῳ "καὶ τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῖς πολὺ διαλλάττοντα ἀλλήλων καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις διαφόρους παρέθεσαν."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 133, 16.

15[a] *Δίωνος ἐκ τοῦ δ' βιβλίου "ἀλλὰ τῆς τε χώρας τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς κατέδραμον."*—*Ib.* p. 152, 3.

Δίων δ' βιβλίῳ "πάντα τὰ μέχρι τείχους ἐκακούργουν."—*Ib.* p. 152, 1.

Zonaras 7, 13.

κρίσεις ἐσχήκασι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀνακρίσεων ζήτησιν· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων διοίκησιν ἔλαχον, καὶ ταμίαι προσωνομάσθησαν. μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἑτέροις μὲν ἐπετράπη τὰ δικαστήρια, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἦσαν διοικηταί.

Οἱ δὲ Σαβῖνοι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενοι πρόφασιν, στρατῷ μεγάλῳ κατὰ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπήλασαν. οἷς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁ Ποπλικόλας ἀντεπαγαγών, καὶ στρατηγήσας ὡς ἄριστα, μικροῦ πάντας ἀπώλεσε.

Οἱ μέντοι Σαβῖνοι δι' ὀργὴν ὧν ἔπαθον οὐδὲ τὸν χειμῶνα ἠρέμησαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ῥωμαΐδα χώραν κατέδραμον, καὶ τὸν Ποστούμιον ἐκάκωσαν τὸ δεύτερον ὑπατεύοντα· καὶ εἷλον ἂν αὐτὸν πανσυδί, εἰ μὴ Μενήνιος Ἀγρίππας ὁ συνάρχων αὐτῷ ἐπεκούρησε. προσπεσόντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἔφθειραν, ὥστε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀναχωρῆσαι. μετὰ

BOOK IV

Dio, Book IV. "And they not only assigned them [the quaestors?] very different duties [from those of the consuls], but also gave them distinct titles."

Dio, Book IV. "But they overran the Roman territory."[1]

Dio, Book IV. "They ravaged everything up to the wall."[1]

Zonaras 7, 13.

—on account of their questionings and on account of their search for truth as the result of questionings. But later they acquired also management of the public funds and received the additional name of treasurers [*tamiai*[2]]. After a time the courts were put in charge of others, while these officials continued to manage the funds.

But the Sabines, making this[3] also a pretext for war, B.C. 504
advanced upon Rome with a large army. Publicola led out the Romans to meet them, and by his excellent generalship all but completely destroyed them.

The Sabines, however, because of wrath at their B.C. 503
treatment, did not keep quiet even through the winter, but overran the Roman territory and discomfited Postumius when he was for the second time consul. And they would have captured him with his entire force, had not Menenius Agrippa, his colleague, come to his aid. Then the consuls assaulted them and killed a number, with the result

[1] These two fragments were joined by Bekker, who supplied the connective "and."

[2] That is, they were called thus by the Greeks.

[3] The reference is to the removal of Appius Claudius and his followers to Rome. Possibly Zonaras based these lines on Plutarch (*Publ*, 22), from whom he took his account of Appius.

16 Ὅτι τὸ κρύφιον τῶν βουλευμάτων καὶ τὸ καίριον τῶν πράξεων, τό τε ἰδιοβουλεῖν τινα καὶ τὸ μήτ' ἀναχώρησιν ἐς μηδένα ἄλλον μηδεμίαν ἔχειν

Zonaras 7, 13.

δὲ ταῦτα Σπούριός τε Κάσσιος καὶ Ὀπιτώριος Οὐεργίνιος ὑπατεύοντες τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἐσπείσαντο. Καμέριον δὲ τὸ ἄστυ ἑλόντες τοὺς μὲν πλείους ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ζωγρήσαντες ἀπέδοντο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψαν.

Ποστούμιος δὲ Κομίνιος[1] καὶ Τίτος Λάρκιος δούλους τινὰς ἐπὶ καταλήψει τοῦ Καπιτωλίου συνωμοσίαν θεμένους συλλαβόντες ἔφθειραν. Σέρουιός τε Σουλπίκιος καὶ Μάρκος Τούλλιος ἑτέραν αὖθις συνωμοσίαν δούλων καὶ ἄλλων δή τινων συστάντων αὐτοῖς προκατέλαβον, ἀγγελθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς πρός τινων τῶν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μετεχόντων. οὓς καὶ συσχόντες περισταδὸν κατέκοψαν. τοῖς δὲ μηνυταῖς ἄλλα τε καὶ πολιτεία ἐδόθη.

Αὖθις δὲ πολέμου παρὰ Λατίνων κατὰ Ῥώμης κεκινημένου, οὐκ ἤθελον οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ὅπλα λαβεῖν, ἀποκοπὴν τῶν χρεῶν ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καινήν τινα ἀρχὴν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς τότε πρῶτον οἱ δυνατοὶ κατεστήσαντο· δικτάτωρ ὁ ταύτης ἠξιωμένος ὠνόμαστο, ἠδύνατο δὲ πάντα ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπωνυμίαν διὰ τοὺς Ταρκυνίους ἐμίσησαν, τὴν δ' ἐκ τῆς μοναρχίας ὠφέλειαν θέλοντες, ὡς πολὺ ἰσχυούσης ἐς τὰς τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν στάσεων περιστάσεις, ἐν ἄλλῳ ταύτην ὀνόματι εἵλοντο. ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἡ δικτατορία κατά γε τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἰσόρροπος, πλὴν ὅτι μὴ ἐφ' ἵππον ἀναβῆναι ὁ

[1] Κομίνιος Wolf, καμίνιος Mss.

BOOK IV

To a large extent success is the result of planning secretly, acting at the opportune moment, following one's own counsel, and having no chance to fall

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Zonaras 7, 13.

that the rest withdrew. After this Spurius Cassius and Opiter Verginius, as consuls, made peace with the Sabines. And capturing the city of Camerium, they slew most of the inhabitants; the remnant they took alive and sold, and razed the city to the ground. B.C. 502

Postumius Cominius and Titus Lartius arrested and put to death some slaves who were conspiring to seize the Capitoline. Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Tullius in their turn anticipated a second conspiracy composed of slaves and some others who had joined them; for it was reported to the consuls by certain men privy to the plot. They surrounded and hemmed in the conspirators and then cut them down. To the informants citizenship and other rewards were given. B.C. 501 B.C. 500

When a new war was stirred up on the part of the Latins against Rome, the populace demanded that there should be a cancellation of debts, and refused to take up arms. Therefore the nobles then for the first time established a new office to have jurisdiction over both classes. Dictator was the name given to the man honoured with this position, and he possessed power equal in all respects to that of the kings. People hated the name of king on account of the Tarquins, but desiring the benefit to be derived from sole leadership, which seemed to exert a potent influence amid conditions of war and revolution, they chose it under another name. Hence the dictatorship was, as has been said, so far as its authority went, equivalent to the kingship, except that the dictator might not ride on horseback unless

καὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τὴν αἰτίαν λαμβάνειν, μέγα μέρος ἐς τὸ κατορθωθῆναί τι συμβάλλεται.—M. 22 (p. 142).

17 Πρὸς *στάσεις*[1] *ἐτράποντο. αἴτιον δ' ὅτι οἵ τε ἰσχύοντες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐν πᾶσι τῶν καταδεεστέρων ὡς καὶ βασιλεύοντές σφων προέχειν ἐβούλοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς*[2] *οὐδὲ*

Zonaras 7, 13.

δικτάτωρ ἠδύνατο, εἰ μὴ ἐκστρατεύεσθαι ἔμελλεν, οὔτε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἀναλῶσαί τι ἐξῆν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ἐψηφίσθη· δικάζειν δὲ καὶ ἀποκτείνειν καὶ οἴκοι καὶ ἐν στρατείαις ἠδύνατο, καὶ οὐ τοὺς τοῦ δήμου μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ οὔτ' ἐγκαλέσαι τις αὐτῷ οὔτ' ἐναντίον τι διαπράξασθαι ἴσχυεν, οὐδὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι, οὔτε δίκη ἐφέσιμος ἐγίνετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. οὐκ ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ τῶν ἓξ μηνῶν ἡ τῆς δικτατορίας ἀρχὴ παρετείνετο, ἵνα μή τις αὐτῶν ἐν τοσούτῳ κράτει καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ἀκράτῳ χρονίσας ὑπερφρονήσῃ καὶ πρὸς ἔρωτα μοναρχίας ἐκκυλισθῇ. ὅπερ ἐς ὕστερον καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ Ἰούλιος ἔπαθεν, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα τῆς δικτατορίας ἠξίωτο.

Zonaras 7, 14.

14. Τότε *μὲν οὖν δικτάτορος γενομένου Λαρκίου οὐδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐνεωτέρισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγένοντο. τῶν δὲ Λατίνων ἡσυχίαν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ συνθήκαις, οἱ δανεισταὶ τοὺς ὀφειλέτας μετεχειρίζοντο βιαιότερον, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὖθις*

[1] *στάσεις* Mai, *τάσεις* Ms. [2] *αὐτοῖς* St., *αὐτῶν* Ms

back upon any one else, but being obliged to take upon one's self the responsibility for the outcome, whatever it be.[1]

They had recourse to civil strife; and the reason was this. Those whose money gave them influence desired to surpass their inferiors in all respects as though they were their sovereigns, and the weaker B.C. 495

Zonaras 7, 13.

he were about to set out on a campaign, and was not permitted to make any expenditure from the public funds unless the right were specially voted. He might try men and put them to death at home as well as on campaigns, and not merely such as belonged to the populace, but also men from the knights and from the senate itself. No one, not even the tribunes, had the power to make any complaint against him or to take any action hostile to him, and no appeal could be taken from him. The office of dictator extended for a period of not more than six months, in order that no such official by lingering on in the midst of so great power and unhampered authority should become haughty and be carried away by a passion for sole leadership. This was what happened later to Julius Caesar, when, contrary to lawful precedent, he had been adjudged worthy of the dictatorship.

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14. At this time, then, when Lartius became dictator, the populace made no uprising, but presented themselves under arms. But when the Latins B.C. 495 had come to terms and were now quiet, the lenders proceeded to treat the debtors somewhat harshly;

[1] Perhaps a comment on the dictatorship.

σμικρὸν ὡς καὶ ἰσονομούμενοι πειθαρχεῖν ἤθελον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄπληστοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὄντες καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις ταῖς ἐκείνων,[1] οἱ δὲ ἀκρατῶς τῆς τιμήσεως ἔχοντες καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς τούτων
2 ἐχρῶντο· καὶ οὕτως ἐξ ὧν πρότερον τὰ πρόσφορα ἀνθυπουργοῦντες ἀλλήλοις συνεφρόνουν καταλύσαντες, οὐκέτι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀθνείου διέκρινον, ἀλλὰ τό τε μέτριον ἀμφότεροι ὑπερορῶντες, καὶ τὸ ἄκρον οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐπιτάξεως οἱ δὲ τῆς οὐκ ἐθελοδουλείας προτιμῶντες, οὔτε ἐκεῖνα κατειργάσαντο καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα τὰ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι τὰ δὲ
3 καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες ἀλλήλους ἔδρασαν, ὥστ'

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ἐστασίαζε διὰ τοῦτο, ὥστε καὶ εἰς τὸ συνέδριον συνδραμεῖν· καὶ πάντες ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰσπεσόντων ἐν αὐτῷ διεφθάρησαν, εἰ μή τινες τοὺς Οὐολούσκους εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλεῖν ἤδη κατήγγειλαν. πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγγελίαν ὁ δῆμος ἠρέμησεν, οὐχὶ φεισάμενος τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλ' ὡς παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὅσον οὔπω φθαρησομένης. διὸ οὔτε τοῦ τείχους ἔθεντο φυλακὴν οὔτε τινὰ παρεῖχον βοήθειαν, μέχρις ὁ Σερουίλιος τούς τε ἐξ ὑπερημερίας κρατουμένους ἀφῆκε καὶ ἄδειαν τῶν εἰσπράξεων καθ' ὅσον στρατεύοιντο ἐψηφίσατο καὶ κουφίσαι τὰ χρέα ὑπέσχετο. τότε μὲν οὖν διὰ

[1] ἐκείνων Krebs, ἐκείνου Ms.

citizens, sure of their own equal rights, were unwilling to obey them even in the smallest particular. The one class, insatiate of freedom, sought to enjoy also the possessions of the other; and this other class, uncontrolled in its desire for public honours, was bent also on subjecting the persons of the former class. So it was that they sundered their former relations, wherein they had been wont harmoniously to assist each other with mutual profit, and no longer made distinctions between the citizen and the foreigner. Indeed, both classes disdained moderation, the one setting its heart upon an extreme of authority, the other upon an extreme of resistance to servitude; and, as a result, they not only failed of these objects but at the same time inflicted upon each other many grievous injuries, partly in requital for wrongs received and partly by way of anticipating others. Hence

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and the populace for this reason again rebelled and even came running in a throng into the senate. And all the senators would then and there have perished at the hands of the inrushing mob, had not some persons reported that the Volsci had already invaded the country. In the face of such news the populace became calm—not, however, out of leniency toward the senate, but because they expected that body to be destroyed forthwith by the enemy. Hence they did not man the walls or render any assistance until Servilius released the prisoners held for default of payment and decreed a suspension of taxes for as long a period as the compaign should last and promised to reduce the debts. Then, in consequence

αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων, πλὴν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ κινδύνοις, οὓς ἐκ τῶν ἀεὶ πολέμων δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα μάλιστα ἔσχον, διχοστατῆσαι· ὅθενπερ συχνοὶ τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἐξεπίτηδές σφας πολλάκις παρεσκεύασαν. καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενοι πολὺ πλείω κακὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλων ἢ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἔπαθον. καί μοι καὶ καταμαντεύσασθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέρχεται ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἄλλως εἴτ' οὖν[1] τῆς δυνάμεως εἴτ' οὖν τῆς ἀρχῆς στερηθεῖεν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἀλλήλων σφαλεῖεν.—M. 23 (p. 142).

4 Ἄλλως τε γὰρ ἐδυσχέραινον ὅτι μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ δεόμενοί σφων οἱ βουλευταὶ καὶ τυχόντες ἐφρόνουν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ κινδύνῳ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο, σωθέντες δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἐποίησαν.—M. 24 (p. 143).

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ταῦτα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεξελθόντες ἐνίκησαν· μήτε δὲ τῶν χρεῶν κουφισθέντες μήτ' ἄλλου μηδενὸς τυχόντες ἐπιεικοῦς, καὶ πάλιν ἐθορύβουν τε καὶ ὠργίζοντο, καὶ κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐστασίαζον.

Πολέμου δὲ αὖθις ἐπενεχθέντος οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐψηφίζοντο, ἠναντιώθησαν δ' ἕτεροι· διὸ καὶ δικτάτωρ ἐρρήθη Οὐαλλέριος Μάρκος, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ποπλικόλα συγγενείας γενό-

[1] εἴτ' οὖν—εἴτ' οὖν Dind., ὅταν—ὅταν Ms. acc. to Bs., εἴτ' ἂν—εἴτ' ἂν Mai.

more than all the rest of mankind they were at variance save in the midst of the gravest dangers incurred in the course of the successive wars that were due chiefly to their own dissensions; hence, for the sake of the respite, many of the foremost men on numerous occasions brought on these conflicts purposely. From this beginning, then, they suffered far more harm from each other than from outside nations. And in view of these circumstances I am led to prophesy that they cannot possibly be deprived of either their power or their sway, unless they shall be brought low by their own contentions.

Furthermore they were indignant because the senators were not of the same mind after obtaining something from them as they were while requesting it, but after making them many fine promises while in the midst of danger, failed to perform the slightest one of them when safety had been secured.

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of these concessions, they proceeded against the enemy and won the day. Inasmuch, however, as they were not relieved of their debts and in general met with no decent treatment, they again raised a clamour and grew full of wrath and made an uprising against both the senate and the praetors.

But upon the outbreak of another war the praetors decreed a cancelling of debts, though others opposed this measure; and so Marcus Valerius was named dictator. He was of the family of Publicola B.C. 494

5 Ἵνα γὰρ δὴ μὴ καθ' ἓν μαχόμενοι ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκείας χωρὶς ἕκαστοι ἀγωνιζόμενοι εὐχειρωτότεροί σφισι γένωνται, διεῖλον τὴν στρατιάν.—M. 25 (p. 143).

6 Ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ἰδιωτεύσαντος τοῦ Οὐαλερίου τοῦ δικτάτορος[1] χαλεπώτατα ἐστασίασεν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν νεοχμῶσαι· οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς περιουσίαις ὄντες τοῦ πάνυ ἀκριβοῦς περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἀντεχόμενοι καὶ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν αὐτοῦ παριέντες, καὶ ἐκείνου διήμαρτον καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἐστερήθησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι ἥ τε πενία ἡ

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μενος, καὶ τῷ πλήθει φιλούμενος· ἔνθεν τοι τοσοῦτοι καὶ οὕτω προθύμως, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἆθλα ὑπέσχετο, συνελέγησαν, ὡς καὶ τῶν Σαβίνων κρατῆσαι καὶ τῶν συμμαχούντων αὐτοῖς Οὐολούσκων καὶ Αἰκουῶν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄλλας τε τῷ Οὐαλλερίῳ ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς ἐψηφίσατο καὶ Μάξιμον ἐπωνόμασεν· ἐξελληνιζόμενον δὲ μέγιστον σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. ὁ δὲ θέλων τῷ δήμῳ χαρίσασθαι πολλὰ διειλέχθη τῇ γερουσίᾳ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσχε ταύτην πειθήνιον. διὸ σὺν ὀργῇ ἐκπηδήσας τοῦ συνεδρίου δημηγορήσας τε πρὸς τὸν δῆμόν τινα κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπείπατο.

Καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς στάσιν ἠρέθιστο. οἱ γὰρ δανεισταί, τῆς περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἀκριβείας ἐχόμενοι καὶ μή τι τοῖς ὀφλοῦσιν ἐνδι-

[1] δικτάτορος Mai, δικάτωρος Ms., and so elsewhere.

So, in order that they[1] might not fight as a single army but that each nation should have to struggle separately in defence of its own territory and so become easier to conquer, they divided the army.

The populace, as soon as Valerius, the dictator, became a private citizen, began a most bitter contest, going so far even as to make changes in the government. The well-to-do classes insisted, in the case of debts, upon the very letter of the agreement, refusing to abate one iota of it, and so they both failed to secure its fulfilment and were deprived of many other advantages; they had failed to recognize the

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and was beloved by the people. Then, indeed, so many gathered, and they were animated with such zeal (for he had promised them prizes, too) that they conquered not only the Sabines, but also the Volsci and Aequi who were allied with them. As a result, the populace voted many honours to Valerius, among them the title of Maximus; this name, translated, means Greatest. And he, wishing to show the populace some favour, addressed the senate at great length, but could not get it to follow his guidance. Consequently he rushed out of the senate-house in a rage, and after delivering to the populace a tirade against the senate, resigned his command.

And the populace was all the more provoked to revolt. As for the money-lenders, by insisting in the case of debts upon the very letter of the agreement and refusing to make any concession to the

[1] The Sabines, Volsci, and Aequi. Cf. Livy 2, 30.

ἄκρατος βιαιότατον κακόν, ἥ τε ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπόνοια, ἄλλως τε καὶ πλῆθος προσλαβοῦσα, δυσμα-
7 χώτατόν ἐστι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν τὰ πολιτικὰ πρασσόντων ἐθελοντὶ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς πρὸ τοῦ σφόδρα δικαίου προαιροῦνται· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῆς τε ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως πολλάκις ἡττᾶται καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε[1] καὶ παντελῶς καταλύεται, ἐκεῖνο δὲ σμικρόν τι αὐτοῦ παραθραῦσαν τὸ γοῦν λοιπὸν μεῖζον ὂν σώζει. πλείστων γοῦν δεινῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἰτία ἡ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου ἐς τοὺς ὑπο-
8 δεεστέρους ἀκρίβεια ἐγένετο· ἄλλα τε γὰρ πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν ὑπερημέρων αὐτοῖς ἐδέδοτο, καὶ εἰ δή τινι[2] πλείους δεδανεικότες ἔτυχον, κρεουργηδὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὸ μέρος ὧν ὤφειλεν ἐξουσίαν εἶχον κατανέμεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰ καὶ τὰ

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δόντες, τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς τε διήμαρτον καὶ πολλῶν ἑτέρων ἀπέτυχον. ἡ γὰρ πενία καὶ ἡ ἐκ ταύτης ἀπόνοια κακόν ἐστι βίαιον, εἰ δὲ καὶ πλῆθος προσλάβοι, καὶ δυσμαχώτατον. πλείστων γοῦν δεινῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἰτία ἡ τότε τῶν δυνατωτέρων πρὸς τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους ἀκρίβεια γέγονεν. ὡς γὰρ ταῖς στρατείαις τε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπιέζετο καὶ πολλὰ πολλάκις ἐλπίσαν σαφῶς ἐξηπάτητο, καὶ παρὰ τῶν δανειστῶν οἱ ὀφειλέται ὑβρίζοντο καὶ ᾐκίζοντο, ἐς τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς ἐξεκαύθησαν ὡς

[1] ἔστιν ὅτε Krebs, ὅτι Ms. [2] τινι v. Herw., τινες Ms.

fact that extreme poverty is a most grievous curse, and that the desperation which results from it, especially if shared by a large number of people, is very difficult to combat. This is why not a few politicians voluntarily choose the course which is expedient in preference to that which is absolutely just. Justice is often worsted in an encounter with human nature and sometimes suffers total extinction, whereas expediency, by parting with a mere fragment of justice, preserves the greater portion of it intact. Thus the uncompromising attitude of the rich class toward the poor was responsible for very many ills that befell the Romans. Indeed, among the many remedies afforded them against delays in the payment of debts, was one to the effect that in case several persons had been lending to one man, they had authority to divide his body piecemeal according to the proportionate amounts that he was owing. And yet, however

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debtors, they both failed to secure the full amount and also lost many other advantages. For poverty with the resulting desperation is a grievous curse, and is, if shared by a large number of people, very difficult to combat. Thus the uncompromising attitude at this time of the rich toward the poor was responsible for very many ills that befell the Romans. For as the soldiery came to be hard pressed by dint of campaigns and was baffled out and out in frequent hopes frequently entertained, and the debtors were repeatedly abused and maltreated by the money-lenders, they became inflamed to such

μάλιστα ἐνενόμιστο, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ ἔργῳ ποτὲ ἐγεγόνει· πῶς γὰρ ἂν πρὸς τοσαύτην ὠμότητα προεχώρησαν οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' ἀδικήματί τινι ἁλοῦσι[1] διάφευξιν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πολλάκις δόντες τοῖς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πετρῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὠσθεῖσι ζῆν, εἰ περιγένοιντο, ἐπιτρέποντες;—M. 26 (p. 143).

9 Ὅτι οἱ χρεωστοῦντες τὰ δάνεια κολωνόν τινα κατέλαβον, καὶ Γάιόν τινα προστησάμενοι τὴν τροφὴν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὥσπερ ἐκ πολεμίας ἐλάμβανον, κἀκ τούτου τούς τε νόμους τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀπονοίας σφῶν ἀσθενέστερα ἀπέφηναν. οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τούτους τε[2] φοβηθέντες μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον πολεμωθῶσι[3] καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους μὴ[4] πρὸς τὰ παρόντα συνεπίθωνται σφίσι, διεκηρυκεύσαντο αὐτοῖς πάνθ' ὅσα καθ' ἡδονὴν
10 ἤλπιζον ἔσεσθαι προτείνοντες. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν[5]

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καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀπόρων συχνοὺς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀναχωρῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὡς πολεμίους τὰς τροφὰς ἐρανίζεσθαι.

Οὕτω δὲ τούτων συνενεχθέντων, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστάντας συνέρρεον, δείσαντες οἱ βουλευταὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον οὗτοί τε ἐκπολεμωθῶσι καὶ τῇ στάσει συνεπίθωνται οἱ περίοικοι, διεκηρυκεύσαντο πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅσα πρὸς βουλῆς ἦσαν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὑπισχνούμενοι. ὡς δὲ μᾶλλον[6]

[1] ἁλοῦσι supplied by v. Herw. [2] τούτους τε added by Bk.
[3] πολεμωθῶσι Dind., πολεμηθῶσι Ms. [4] μὴ added by Bk.
[5] τὸ μὲν Bk., τὸ (?) Ms. [6] μᾶλλον Polak, μάλιστα Mss.

well this principle may have been recognized, it surely had never been put into practice. For how could a nation have proceeded to such lengths of cruelty when it frequently granted to those convicted of some crime a refuge for their safety and allowed such as were thrust from the cliffs of the Capitoline to live in case they survived the experience?

Those who were owing debts took possession of a certain hill, and after placing one Gaius at their head, proceeded to secure their food from the country as from hostile territory, thereby demonstrating that laws were weaker than arms, and justice weaker than their desperation. The senators, fearing both that these men might become more estranged and that the neighbouring tribes might, in view of the crisis, attack them simultaneously, proposed terms to the seceders, offering everything that they hoped might please them. The latter at first maintained

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a pitch of fury that many of the destitute abandoned the city or withdrew from the camp, and like enemies lived on the country.

When this situation had been brought about, since numbers came flocking to the side of the seceders, the senators, dreading both that the latter might become more estranged and that the neighbouring tribes might take advantage of the sedition and attack them simultaneously, proposed terms, in which they promised to do everything for them that they desired. But when the others displayed a

πρῶτον ἐθρασύνοντο, θαυμασίῳ δὲ δή[1] τινι τρόπῳ κατέστησαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀτάκτως διεβόων, Ἀγρίππας εἷς τῶν πρέσβεων μύθου τινὸς ἐπακοῦσαί σφας ἠξίωσε, καὶ τυχὼν εἶπεν ὅτι πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα ποτὲ τἆλλα μέλη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐστασίασε, λέγοντα αὐτὰ μὲν καὶ ἄσιτα καὶ ἄποτα πονεῖν καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν ἅτε καὶ ἅπαντα αὐτῇ διακονούμενα,[2] ἐκείνην δὲ δὴ μήτε τινὰ πόνον ἔχειν καὶ τῆς
11 τροφῆς μόνην ἐμπίμπλασθαι. καὶ τέλος ἐψηφίσαντο μηκέτι μήτε τὰς χεῖρας τῷ στόματι προσ-

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ἐθρασύνοντο καὶ οὐδένα λόγον ἐδέχοντο, εἷς τῶν πρέσβεων Ἀγρίππας Μενήνιος μύθου τινὸς σφᾶς ἀκοῦσαι ἠξίωσε· καὶ τυχὼν εἶπε στασιάσαι πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα τὰ μέλη πάντα τοῦ σώματος, καὶ φάναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς ἡμεῖς τάς τε χεῖρας ἐνεργοὺς εἰς ἔργα καὶ τοὺς πόδας πρὸς πορείαν τιθέαμεν, τὴν γλῶσσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ χείλη ὅτι δι' ἡμῶν τὰ τῆς καρδίας βουλεύματα διαγγέλλονται, τὰ ὦτα δ' αὖ ὡς δι' ἡμῶν οἱ ἑτέρων λόγοι τῷ νοῒ παραπέμπονται, τὰς δὲ χεῖρας ὅτι ἐργάτιδες οὖσαι ἡμεῖς περιποιούμεθα πορισμούς, τοὺς πόδας δ' αὖθις ὅτι ἅπαν ἡμεῖς τὸ σῶμα φέροντες κοπιῶμεν κἂν ταῖς πορείαις κἂν ταῖς ἐργασίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν· ἡμῶν δ' ἐνεργούντων οὕτω σὺ μόνη ἀσυντελὴς οὖσα καὶ ἀεργὸς ὑπὸ πάντων ἡμῶν ὡς δέσποινά τις ὑπηρετῇ

[1] δὲ δή Bs., δή Ms.
[2] αὐτῇ διακονούμενα Mai, αὐτῶι διακονουμένοις Ms.

a bold front, but were brought to reason in a remarkable way. When they kept up a series of disorderly shouts, Agrippa, one of the envoys, begged them to hearken to a fable, and having obtained their consent, spoke as follows: "Once all the Members of Man began a contention against the Belly, declaring that they worked and toiled without food or drink, being at the beck and call of the Belly in everything, whereas it endured no labour and alone got its fill of nourishment. And finally they voted that the Hands should no longer convey aught to the Mouth nor the latter receive anything,

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bolder front than ever and would accept no offer, one of the envoys, Menenius Agrippa, begged them to hearken to a fable. After obtaining their consent he spoke as follows: "Once all the Members of the Body began a contention against the Belly. And the Eyes said: 'We give the Hands the power to work and the Feet the power to walk.' And the Tongue and the Lips: 'Through us the counsels of the Heart are made known.' And then the Ears: 'Through us the words of others are conveyed to the Mind.' And the Hands: 'We are the workers and lay up stores of wealth.' And again the Feet: 'We tire ourselves out carrying the whole body in its journeying and working and standing.' [And all in a chorus]: 'While we labour so, thou alone, free from contribution and labour, like a mistress art

φέρειν μήτε ἐκεῖνο λαμβάνειν, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἡ γαστὴρ ἐνδεὴς καὶ σίτου καὶ ποτοῦ γενομένη φθαρείη. ὡς δὲ ἔδοξε ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξισχνάνθη τὸ σῶμα σύμπαν, ἔπειτα ὑπέδωκε καὶ ἐξέκαμε. πονήρως οὖν τὰ μέλη σφῶν† ἔχοντα συνέγνω τε ἐν ἐκείνῃ[1] καὶ τὴν σφετέραν σωτηρίαν εἶναι καὶ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῇ τὴν
12 τροφήν. ἀκοῦσαν δὲ τούτων τὸ πλῆθος συνῆκεν

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καὶ τῶν ἐκ καμάτου πάντων ἡμῶν πορισμῶν ἀπολαύεις αὐτή. ἡ δὲ γαστὴρ συνέθετο καὶ αὐτὴ οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχειν, καὶ εἰ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ἀχορήγητόν με ἐάσατε, μηδέν μοι προσφέροντες. ἔδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ μή τι τοῦ λοιποῦ χορηγεῖσθαι τῇ γαστρὶ κοινῶς ἐψηφίσθη τοῖς μέλεσι. τροφῆς δὲ μὴ προσφερομένης αὐτῇ οὔθ' αἱ χεῖρες πρὸς ἔργον ἦσαν εὐκίνητοι διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῆς γαστρὸς ἀτονήσασαι, οὔθ' οἱ πόδες ἔρρωντο, οὔτε τι ἕτερον τῶν μελῶν τὴν οἰκείαν ἐνέργειαν παρεῖχεν ἀπρόσκοπον, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτα πάντα δυσκίνητά τε ἦ καὶ τέλεον ἦσαν ἀκίνητα. καὶ τότε συνῆκαν ὅτι τὰ τῇ γαστρὶ προσφερόμενα οὐ μᾶλλον ἐκείνῃ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς κεχορήγηνται, καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον τῶν ἐκείνῃ προσαγομένων παραπολαύει.

Τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις τὸ πλῆθος συνῆκεν ὡς αἱ τῶν εὐπόρων οὐσίαι καὶ τοῖς πένησίν εἰσιν εἰς ὠφέλειαν, καὶ εἰ κἀκεῖνοι ὠφελοῖντο ἐκ δανεισμάτων καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὔξουσιν, οὐκ εἰς βλάβην τοῦτο τῶν πολλῶν ἀποβαίνει, ὡς εἴ γε μὴ ἔχοιεν

[1] ἐν ἐκείνῃ Bs., ἐκεῖνοι Ms.

to the end that the Belly might so far as possible come to lack both food and drink and so perish. Now when this decision had been reached and put into execution, at first the entire body began to wither away and next it gave out and collapsed. Accordingly, the Members through their own desperate state grew conscious that in the Belly lay their own salvation and restored to it its nourishment." On hearing this the multitude comprehended that

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Zonaras 7, 14.

served by us all and the fruit of all our labours thou thyself alone dost enjoy.' The Belly herself admitted that this was so, and added: 'If you like, furnish me nothing and leave me unsupplied.' This proposition was accepted, and the Members voted unanimously nevermore to supply the Belly by their common effort. When no food was presented to her, the Hands were not nimble to work, being relaxed on account of the Belly's need, nor were the Feet possessed of strength, nor did any other of the Members show its proper activity unimpaired, but all were inefficient, slow, or completely motionless. And then they comprehended that the offerings made to the Belly had been supplied no more to her than to themselves and that each one of them incidentally enjoyed the benefit conferred upon her."

Through these words the multitude comprehended that the abundance of the prosperous tends also to the advantage of the poor, and that even though the former be advantaged by their loans and though they increase their abundance, the outcome of this is not hurtful to the interests of the many; since, if it

ὅτι καὶ τὰ τῶν πενήτων αἱ τῶν εὐπόρων περιουσίαι ἀνέχουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἠπιώτεροι ἐγένοντο καὶ κατηλλάγησαν ἄφεσιν τῶν τε δανεισμάτων καὶ τῶν ὑπερημεριῶν εὑρόμενοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἐψηφίσθη.—M. 27 (p. 144).

14 Καὶ ἐδόκει μήτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου εἶναι, καὶ πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις,[1] τοῖς μὲν ἑκοῦσι τοῖς δὲ ἄκουσιν . . .—M. 28 (p. 145).

Ὅτι ὅταν πολλοὶ καθ' ἓν γενόμενοι πλεονεκτήσωσι βιασάμενοι, παραχρῆμα μὲν ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐπιεικεῖ θρασύνονται, διαλυθέντες δὲ ἄλλος κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν δικαιοῦνται.—M. 29 (p. 146).

Zonaras 7, 14.

οἱ πλουτοῦντες, οὐδ' οἱ πένητες ἂν ἐν καιροῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἕξουσι τοὺς δανείσοντας, καὶ ἀπολοῦνται χρείας κατεπειγούσης. ἐντεῦθεν ἠπιώτεροι γενόμενοι κατηλλάγησαν, κουφισμὸν τῶν ὀφειλῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπερημεριῶν ἄφεσιν τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης αὐτοῖς.

Zonaras 7, 15.

15. Φοβηθέντες δὲ μὴ σκεδασθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς συστάσεως ἢ τὰς συνθήκας οὐκ ἐπιτελεῖς ἕξουσιν ἢ κακωθῶσι διαλυθέντες καὶ ἄλλος κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν κολάζοιτο συνεχόμενος, συνέθεντο ἐπαρήγειν ἀλλήλοις, ἄν τίς τι ἀδικοῖτο, καὶ ὅρκους ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὑπέσχον, καὶ προστάτας αὐτίκα ἐξ ἑαυτῶν δύο προεχειρίσαντο, εἶτα καὶ πλείους, ἵν' εἶεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ συμμορίαν

[1] ἄλλοις Mai, ἄλλως (?) Ms.

the abundance of the prosperous also supports the cause of the poor; therefore they became milder and were reconciled on being granted a release from their debts and from seizures therefor. These terms, then, were voted by the senate.

And it did not seem to be inconsistent with human nature, and to many others also, some willingly, some unwillingly . . .

Whenever a large number of men band together and seek their own advantage by violence, they have for the time being some equitable agreement and display boldness, but later they become divided and are punished on various pretexts.

Zonaras 7, 14.

were not for the wealth possessed by the rich, the poor would not have in times of need persons to lend to them and would perish under the pressure of want. Thereupon they became milder and were reconciled, after the senate had voted a lightening of their debts and release from seizures therefor.

Zonaras 7, 15.

15. They feared, however, that when their league had been disbanded they might either find their agreements ineffectual or might be harmed through their separation, being arrested and punished one after another on various pretexts. So they formed a compact to lend aid to one another in case any one of them should be wronged in any particular; and they took oaths to this effect and forthwith elected from their own number two representatives,—and afterward still more,—in order that each class [1] might

[1] The reference is to the classes of Servius Tullius.

Zonaras 7, 15.

βοηθοί τε καὶ τιμωροί. καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ' ἔκτοτε τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀρξάμενον οὕτω προέβαινε, καὶ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς προστάτας ὡς ἀρχήν τινα ἀπεδείκνυσαν, τῇ μὲν τῶν Λατίνων γλώσσῃ καλουμένους τριβούνους (οὕτω γὰρ οἱ χιλίαρχοι κέκληνται), δημάρχους δὲ προσαγορευομένους τῇ Ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ. ἵνα δὲ διαστέλληται ἡ τῶν τριβούνων προσηγορία, τοῖς μὲν τὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τοῖς δὲ τὸ τοῦ πλήθους προσέθεντο πρόσρημα. οὗτοι δὴ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ τριβοῦνοι ἢ δήμαρχοι μεγάλων κακῶν αἴτιοι τῇ Ῥώμῃ γεγόνασι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὄνομα οὐκ ἔσχον εὐθύς, ἰσχὺν δ' ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκτήσαντο, ἤμυνόν τε δεομένῳ παντί, καὶ πάντα τὸν ἐπιβοησάμενον σφᾶς ἀφῃροῦντο οὐκ ἐκ μόνων ἰδιωτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρχόντων, πλὴν τῶν δικτατόρων. εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἀπόντας αὐτοὺς ἐπεκαλέσατο, κἀκεῖνος ἀπό τε τοῦ συνέχοντος αὐτὸν ἀπηλλάττετο καὶ ἢ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰσήγετο ἢ καὶ ἀπελύετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τί που ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ γενέσθαι, ἐκώλυον, κἂν ἰδιώτης ἦν ὁ ποιῶν κἂν ἄρχων· κἂν ὁ δῆμος κἂν ἡ βουλὴ πράττειν ἔμελλέ τι κἂν ψηφίζεσθαι, εἷς δέ τις ἠναντίωτο δήμαρχος, ἄπρακτος καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις καὶ ἡ ψῆφος ἐγίνετο. τοῦ χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἀθροίζειν καὶ ζημιοῦν τὸν μὴ πειθαρχοῦντα καὶ μαντείᾳ χρῆσθαι καὶ δικάζειν ἐπετράπησαν ἢ ἑαυτοῖς ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ ὃ γὰρ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς

Zonaras 7, 15.

have a helper and avenger. And this they did not once only, but the idea now conceived in this form kept growing, and they appointed their representative for a year, as to some office. The men were called in the tongue of the Latins *tribuni*,—the same name that was given to the commanders of a thousand,[1]—but were styled *dêmarchoi* [leaders of the people] in the Greek language. In order, however, to distinguish between the titles of the tribunes, they added in the one case the phrase "of the soldiers," and in the other the phrase "of the people." Now these tribunes of the people (or *dêmarchoi*) became responsible for great evils that befell Rome. For though they did not immediately secure the title of magistrates, they gained power beyond all the others, defending every one who begged protection and rescuing every one who called upon them not only from private individuals, but from the very magistrates, except the dictators. If any one ever invoked them when absent, he, too, was released from the person holding him prisoner and was either brought before the populace by them or was set free. And if ever they saw fit that anything should not be done, they prevented it, whether the person acting were a private citizen or a magistrate; and if the populace or the senate was about to do or vote anything and a single tribune opposed it, the action or the vote became null and void. As time went on, they were allowed, or allowed themselves, to summon the senate, to punish anybody who disobeyed them, to practise divination, and to hold court. And in the case of anything

[1] The word χιλίαρχος literally means the "leader of a thousand," but is regularly used for the Roman military tribunes (and consular tribunes).

15 Κατά τε τὸ φύσει τοῖς πλείστοις πρὸς τοὺς συνάρχοντας διάφορον (χαλεπὸν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ συμφρονῆσαι[1]) πᾶσα

Zonaras 7, 15.

οὐκ ἐξῆν, κατώρθουν ἐκ τῆς ἀνανταγωνίστου πρὸς πᾶν τὸ πραττόμενον ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐναντιώσεως. καὶ γὰρ καὶ νόμους εἰσήγαγον ἵν' ὅστις αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ ἢ λόγῳ προσκρούσῃ, κἂν ἰδιώτης εἴη κἂν ἄρχων, ἱερός τε ᾖ καὶ τῷ ἄγει ἐνέχηται. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν εἶναι ἀπολωλέναι ἦν· οὕτω γὰρ πᾶν ὅπερ ἂν ὥσπερ τι θῦμα εἰς σφαγὴν καθιερώθη ὠνόμαστο. καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς δημάρχους τὸ πλῆθος σακροσάγκτους ὠνόμασαν, οἷον τείχη ἅγια εἰς φρουρὰν τῶν σφᾶς ἐπικαλουμένων τυγχάνοντας. σάκρα γὰρ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ τείχη καὶ σάγκτα τὰ ἅγια. ἔδρων οὖν πολλὰ ἄτοπα· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπάτους ἔβαλλον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον καὶ ἐθανάτουν τινὰς μηδὲ λόγου τυγχάνοντας. καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐναντιωθῆναι ἐτόλμα· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτὸς ἱερὸς ἐγίνετο. εἰ μέντοι τινὲς μὴ παρὰ πάντων τῶν δημάρχων κατεδικάζοντο, τοὺς μὴ ὁμογνωμονοῦντας ἐπεκαλοῦντο εἰς ἀρωγήν, καὶ οὕτως εἰς δίκην καθίσταντο ἢ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἢ παρά τισι δικασταῖς ἢ καὶ παρὰ τῷ πλήθει, καὶ τῆς νικώσης ἐγίνοντο. εἰς δέκα δὲ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου οἱ δήμαρχοι κατέστησαν· ὅθεν αὐτοῖς τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἰσχύος κατεβέβλητο. φύσει γὰρ ὥσπερ, φθόνῳ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἀλλήλοις οἱ συνάρχοντες διαφέρονται. καὶ χαλεπὸν πολλοὺς ἐν δυνάμει μάλιστα ὄντας συμφρονῆσαι. ἅμα δὲ

[1] *συμφρονῆσαι* Mai, *σωφρονῆσαι* Ms.

BOOK IV

Through the tendency, natural to most persons, to differ with their fellow officials,—since it is always difficult for a number of men to attain harmony, espe-

Zonaras 7, 15.

that was unlawful for them to do, they gained their point by their incontestable opposition to every project undertaken by others. For they introduced laws to the effect that whoever should obstruct them by deed or word, be he private citizen or magistrate, should be "devoted" and under a curse. This being "devoted" meant destruction; for this was the term applied to everything that was consecrated, like a victim, for slaughter. The tribunes themselves were termed by the multitude *sacrosanct*, since they served as sacred walls, so to speak, for the shelter of such as invoked them; for *sacra* among the Romans means "walls," and *sancta* "sacred."[1] Many of their actions were unwarrantable, for they threw even consuls into prison and put men to death without granting them a hearing. Nobody ventured to oppose them; or, in case anyone did, he himself became "devoted." If, however, persons were not condemned by all the tribunes, they would call to their help those who had not concurred in the verdict, and so were given a regular trial before the tribunes themselves or before a jury or before the populace, and were subject to the deciding vote. In the course of time the number of the tribunes was fixed at ten, and as a result of this most of their power was overthrown. For as if by very nature, yet more by reason of jealousy, fellow-officials invariably quarrel; and it is difficult for a number of men,

[1] This last statement is doubtless an addition of Zonaras, who did not fully understand Dio's reference to the peculiar sacredness attached by the Romans to their walls.

αὐτῶν ἡ ἰσχὺς διεσπᾶτο καὶ κατετέμνετο· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄφελος ὧν[1] ἐγίγνωσκον ἦν, εἰ καὶ εἷς σφῶν ἀντεῖπεν· τῷ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ[2] τοῖς βιαζομένοις τινὰς ἐναντιοῦσθαι λαμβάνειν, ἰσχυρότερος ὁ κωλύων τι πραχθῆναι τῶν σπουδαζόντων αὐτὸ ἐγίγνετο.—M. 30 (p. 146).

Zonaras 7, 15.

καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διασπᾶν τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν μηχανώμενοι, ὅπως ἀσθενέστεροι διχογνωμονοῦντες ὦσιν, ἐστασίαζον, καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῖσδε, οἱ δὲ τοῖσδε προσετίθεντο. εἰ δὲ καὶ εἷς σφῶν ἀντεῖπε, τὰς τῶν ἄλλων διαγνώσεις ἀπράκτους ἀπέφαινε. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οὐκ εἰσῄεσαν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, καθήμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσόδου τὰ ποιούμενα παρετήρουν, καὶ εἴ τι μὴ αὐτοῖς ἤρεσκε, παραχρῆμα ἀνθίσταντο· εἶτα καὶ εἰσεκαλοῦντο ἐντός. εἰσέπειτα μέντοι καὶ μετέλαβον τῆς βουλείας οἱ δημαρχήσαντες, καὶ τέλος κἀκ τῶν βουλευτῶν τινες ἠξίωσαν δημαρχεῖν, εἰ μή τις εὐπατρίδης ἐτύγχανεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδέχετο τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ὁ ὅμιλος. κατὰ γὰρ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἑλόμενοι τοὺς δημάρχους, καὶ πρὸς τοσαύτην προαγαγόντες ἰσχύν, ἐδεδοίκεσαν μή τις αὐτῶν τῇ ἰσχύϊ ἐς τοὐναντίον κατ' αὐτῶν χρήσηται. εἰ δέ τις τὸ τοῦ γένους ἀξίωμα ἐξωμόσατο καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλήθους μετέστη νόμισιν, ἀσμένως αὐτὸν

[1] ὧν Bk., ὡς Ms. acc. to Mai.
[2] τὸ supplied by v. Herw.

cially in a position of any influence,—all their power was being dissipated and torn to shreds; for none of their resolutions was valid in case even one of them opposed it. They had originally received their office for no other purpose than to resist such as were oppressing anybody, and thus he who tried to prevent any measure from being carried into effect was sure to prove stronger than those who supported it.

Zonaras 7, 15.

especially in a position of influence, to attain harmony. No sooner did others, planning to shatter their influence, go to intriguing, in order that dissension might make them weaker, than the tribunes actually attached themselves some to the one party and some to the other. If even one of them opposed a measure, he rendered the decisions of the rest null and void. Now at first they did not enter the senate-house, but sat at the entrance and watched proceedings, and in case anything failed to please them, they would then and there oppose it. Next they were invited inside. Later, however, the ex-tribunes became members of the senate, and finally some of the senators even sought to be tribunes—unless one chanced to be a patrician. Patricians the people would not accept; for after choosing the tribunes to defend them against the patricians, and advancing them to so great power, they feared that a patrician might turn this power to contrary purposes and use it against them. But if a man abjured the rank given him by birth and changed his status to that of a common citizen, they received him gladly. And a

Zonaras 7, 15.

προσεδέχοντο. καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν σφόδρα εὐπατριδῶν ἀπείπαντο τὴν εὐγένειαν ἔρωτι τοῦ μέγα δυνηθῆναι, καὶ ἐδημάρχησαν.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων δυναστεία συνέστη· οἷς καὶ ἀγορανόμους δύο προσείλοντο, οἷον ὑπηρέτας σφίσιν ἐσομένους πρὸς γράμματα. πάντα γὰρ τά τε παρὰ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ γραφόμενα λαμβάνοντες, ὥστε μηδὲν σφᾶς τῶν πραττομένων λανθάνειν, ἐφύλασσον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ᾑροῦντο καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δικάζειν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα καὶ τὴν τῶν ὠνίων ἀγορὰν ἐπετράπησαν, ὅθεν καὶ ἀγορανόμοι τοῖς ἑλληνίζουσιν ὠνομάσθησαν.

Zonaras 7, 15.

number of the most prominent patricians actually did renounce their nobility, through desire for the immense influence possible, and so became tribunes.

Such was the origin of the power of the tribunes. In addition to them the people chose two aediles to be their assistants in the matter of documents. These took charge of everything that was submitted in writing to the plebs, to the populace, and to the senate, and kept it, so that nothing that was done escaped their notice. This and the trying of cases were the objects for which they were chosen anciently, but later they were charged, among other duties, with the supervision of the provision market, whence they came to be called *agoranomoi* [market-overseers] by the Greeks.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK V

15[d] Δίον ε′ βιβλίῳ "τούτῳ τε οὖν αὐτὸν ἐτίμησεν."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 175, 19.

Zonaras 7, 16.

16. Ἡ μὲν οὖν στάσις ἡ πρώτη οὕτω τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατέπαυσεν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιοίκων σφίσι διὰ τὴν στάσιν πολλῶν κατ' αὐτῶν κινηθέντων, μετὰ τὴν σύμβασιν ὁμονοήσαντες ἐρρωμένως τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων πολέμους διήνεγκαν καὶ πάντας ἐνίκησαν. ὅτε καὶ Κοριόλους πολιορκοῦντες ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μικροῦ ἐκινδύνευον, εἰ μὴ Γναῖος Μάρκιος εὐπατρίδης ἀνὴρ ἠρίστευσε καὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀπώσατο· ὃς διὰ τοῦτο ἄλλως τε ἐδοξάσθη καὶ Κοριολᾶνος ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους οὗ ἐτρέψατο ἐπεκλήθη.

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 532-42.

Ῥωμαῖοι Κοριόλανον τὴν πόλιν πολεμοῦντες, | ὡς πρὸς φυγὴν[1] ἐτράπησαν οἱ πάντες ἀνὰ κράτος, | αὐτὸς δ' εἰς τὴν πολέμιον πόλιν στραφεὶς καὶ μόνος | ἠνεῳγμένην ἐφευρὼν ἐνέπρησεν ἐκείνην, | λαμπρῶς δ' ἀρθείσης τῆς φλογὸς ἐπαναβὰς τὸν ἵππον | ῥύμῃ πολλῇ κατόπισθεν ἐμπίπτει τῶν βαρβάρων, | οἳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διωγμὸν τὸν ἄστρεπτον ἐποίουν. | οἵπερ στραφέντες καὶ τὸ πῦρ φλέγον ἰδόντες πόλιν | καὶ πορθηθῆναι δόξαντες ἔφευγον ἀλλαχόσε. | αὐτὸς Ῥωμαίους σώσας δὲ πορθήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν, | τὴν ἥνπερ

[1] φυγὴν Kiessling, αὐτὴν Mss.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK V

Dio, Book V. "This was the honour which [the people] bestowed upon him." [1]

Zonaras 7, 16.

16. The first secession of the Romans, then, terminated as described. Now many of the neighbouring tribes had taken advantage of the secession to begin hostilities against them; but the Romans after their reconciliation conducted vigorously and harmoniously the wars brought by their enemies and conquered them all. It was at this time that in the siege of B.C. 493 Corioli they came within an ace of being driven from their very camp; but a patrician, Gnaeus Marcius, showed his prowess and repelled the assailants. For this he received various marks of distinction and was given the title of Coriolanus from the people which

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 532–42.

When the Romans were warring against the city of Coriolanum,[2] and had all turned to flight at full speed, he [Coriolanus] turned toward the hostile city, and finding it open, set fire to it all alone. As the flames rose brilliantly, he mounted his horse and fell with great violence upon the rear of the barbarians, who were causing headlong flight to the Romans. They wheeled about, and when they saw the fire consuming the city, thinking it was sacked, they fled in another direction. And he, as a result of saving the Romans and sacking

[1] Reference to Cn. Marcius after the capture of Corioli?

[2] Tzetzes has confused the name of the city and that of the people, calling the former Coriolanum (or Coriolanus?) and the other Corioli; see pp. 137, 151.

18, 2 Οὐ γάρ ἐστι ῥᾴδιον οὔτε ἐν πᾶσί τινα ἰσχύειν οὔτε ἐν ἑκατέροις ἅμα τοῖς τε πολεμικοῖς καὶ τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς πράγμασιν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν· οἵ τε γὰρ τοῖς σώμασιν ἰσχυριζόμενοι[1] ἀνοηταίνουσιν ὡς πλήθει, καὶ τὰ ἀθρόως εὐτυχήσαντ'[2] οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀνθεῖ. δι' οὖν ταῦτ' ἐς τὰ πρῶτά ποθ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀρθείς, ἔπειτα πρὸς αὐτῶν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐξέπεσεν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Οὐόλσκων τῇ πατρίδι δουλώσας τὴν οἰκείαν αὖ[3] μετ' ἐκείνων ἐς πᾶν κινδύνου κατέστησεν.—M. 31 (p. 146).

3 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς στρατηγῆσαι[4] θελήσας καὶ μὴ τελεσθεὶς ἠγανάκτησε τῷ ὁμίλῳ, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοῖς δημάρχοις πολὺ δυναμένοις βαρύνεσθαι,

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καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἤρθη, οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον στρατηγῆσαι σπεύδων καὶ μὴ τυχών, ἠγανάκτησε κατὰ τοῦ ὁμίλου καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ἐβαρύνετο.

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 542–50.

Κοριόλανον εἰρήκαμεν καλεῖσθαι, | πρὸς τῷ καλεῖσθαι πρότερον Μάρκος καὶ Γναῖος ἅμα | ἔσχε καὶ Κοριόλανος ἐκ τοῦ τροπαίου κλῆσιν. | οἷα δ' ὁ φθόνος εἴωθεν ποιεῖν τοῖς εὐεργέταις, | μετὰ μικρὸν ἐν λογισμοῖς τὸν ἄνδρα ζημιοῦσιν. | ὑπερπαθήσας δ' ὁ ἀνὴρ θυμῷ δικαιοτάτῳ | ἀφεὶς γυναῖκα τὴν αὐτοῦ, μητέρα καὶ πατρίδα | πρὸς Κοριόλους ἔρχεται, καὶ δέχονται τὸν ἄνδρα. | καὶ δὴ καὶ παρετάξαντο καὶ κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

[1] ἰσχυριζόμενοι Bk., ἐγχειριζόμενοι Ms.
[2] τὰ ἀθρόως εὐτυχήσαντ' Bk. (and so perhaps Ms.), τῷ ἀθρόῳ εὐτυχήσαντα Mai.
[3] αὖ Bk., ἂν Ms.
[4] στρατηγῆσαι Mai (from Zon.), στρατηγὸς Ms.

For it is not easy for a man either to be strong at all points or to possess excellence in the arts both of war and of peace at the same time. Those who are physically strong are, as a rule, weak-minded, and success that has come in unstinted measure generally does not flourish equally well everywhere. This explains why, after having once been exalted by the citizens to the foremost rank, he was not long afterward exiled by them, and how it was that after making the city of the Volsci a slave to his country he with the aid of that people brought his own land in turn into the very extreme of danger.

The same man wished to be made praetor, and upon failing to secure the office became angry at the populace; because of this and also because of his displeasure at the great influence of the tribunes he B.C. 491

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he had routed. For the time he was thus exalted, but not long afterward he was anxious to be made praetor and failed, and therefore became angry with the populace and evinced displeasure toward the B.C. 491

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 542–50.

the city, which we have already said was called Coriolanum, received, in addition to his former names, Marcus and Gnaeus, the title of Coriolanus, from his victory. But—such is the treatment that jealousy accords to benefactors—after a little in the course of their reflections they fined the man. And he, grievously smarting with most just wrath, left his wife, his mother, and his country, and went to the Corioli,[1] who received him. And they arrayed themselves against the Romans.

[1] See note on p. 135.

παρρησίᾳ πλείονι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους
τοὺς ὁμοίους οἱ ἐκ τῶν κατειργασμένων ἐχρῆτο.
4 καὶ λιμοῦ γενομένου ἰσχυροῦ καὶ Νώρβης πόλεως
ἀποικίζεσθαι βουλομένης, τὸ πλῆθος ἐπ' ἀμφο-
τέροις αὐτοῖς τοὺς δυνατοὺς ᾐτιάσατο, ὡς καὶ δι'
ἐκείνους καὶ τῆς τροφῆς στερισκόμενοι καὶ ἐς τοὺς
πολεμίους ἐπίτηδες ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ προύπτῳ ἐκδιδό-
μενοι· ὅταν γὰρ ἐς ὑποψίαν τινὲς ἀλλήλων ἔλθωσι,
πάντα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ σφῶν γιγνόμενα ἀλλοίως κατὰ
5 τὸ στασιωτικὸν λαμβάνουσι. καὶ ὁ Κοριολανὸς
ἄλλως τε ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ
σίτου πολλαχόθεν κομισθέντος, καὶ τοῦ γε πλεί-
στου προῖκα παρὰ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ βασιλέων
πεμφθέντος, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψέ σφισι διαλαχεῖν αὐτὸν
ὥσπερ ᾔτουν. οἱ οὖν δήμαρχοι, οὕσπερ που καὶ
τὰ μάλιστα καταλῦσαι ἐγλίχετο, τυραννίδος αὐτὸν
ὑπὸ τὸ πλῆθος[1] ἀγαγόντες ἐξήλασαν, καίτοι
πάντων τῶν βουλευτῶν[2] βοώντων καὶ δεινὸν
ποιουμένων ὅτι καὶ περὶ σφῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνειν
6 ἐτόλμων. ἐκπεσὼν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Οὐόλσκους

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οἱ οὖν δήμαρχοι, οὓς καταλῦσαι ἐγλίχετο, αἰτίας τινὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ συμφορήσαντες τυραννίδος αὐτῷ προσῆψαν αἰτίαμα καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξήλασαν. ἐκπεσὼν οὖν τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις εὐθὺς προσεχώρησεν.

[1] ὑπὸ τὸ πλῆθος Krebs, τοῦ πλήθους Ms.
[2] τῶν βουλευτῶν supplied by Polak.

employed greater frankness in speaking to the people than was attempted by others whose deeds entitled them to the same rank as himself. When a severe famine had broken out and the town of Norba called for a colony, the multitude blamed the nobles on both these scores, maintaining that through them they were being deprived of food and were being purposely delivered into the hands of their enemies for manifest destruction. For whenever persons come to suspect each other, they take amiss everything even that is done in their behalf, judging it all in a spirit of party hatred. Coriolanus had invariably shown contempt for the people, and after grain had been brought in from many sources, most of it sent as a gift from princes in Sicily, he would not allow them to receive allotments of it as they were demanding. Accordingly, the tribunes, whose office he was especially eager to abolish, brought him to trial before the populace on a charge of aiming at tyranny and exiled him. It availed naught that all the senators cried out and expressed their indignation at the fact that the tribunes dared to pass such sentence upon their order. So on being expelled he betook himself, raging at his treatment, to the Volsci, though they

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tribunes. Accordingly, the latter, whose office he was especially eager to abolish, heaped up accusations against him, fixed upon him a charge of aiming at tyranny, and exiled him from Rome. So, on being expelled, he forthwith went over to the Volsci.

καίπερ ἐχθίστους ὄντας ὀργῇ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἦλθε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔκ τε τῆς ἀνδρείας ἧς[1] ἐπεπείραντο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ἀσμένως δέξεσθαι προσεδόκησεν, ἀντίπαλα ἢ καὶ μείζω δι' αὐτὸν[2] τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὧν ἔπαθον δράσειν ἀντελπίσαντας·[3] ὑφ' ὧν γὰρ ἄν τις σφόδρα κακοπαθῇ, πρὸς τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων[4] καὶ εὖ πείσεσθαι, βουλομένων γε καὶ δυναμένων εὖ[5] ποιῆσαι, οὐκ ἐλάχιστα πιστεύει.—M. 32 (p. 147).

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Ὧν οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς τέλεσιν αὐτῶν ὄντες ἔχαιρόν τε αὐτῷ καὶ αὖθις πρὸς πόλεμον ἡτοιμάζοντο, Ἀττίου Τουλλίου πρὸς τοῦτον ἐρεθίζοντος ἅπαντας· ὁ δὲ ὅμιλος ἀπρόθυμος ἦν. ὡς οὖν οὔτε παραινοῦντες οὔτ' ἐκφοβοῦντες αὐτοὺς οἱ δυνατοὶ κινῆσαι πρὸς ὅπλων ἄρσιν ἠδύναντο, τοιόνδε τι ἐμηχανήσαντο. ἱπποδρομίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγόντων, ἄλλοι τε τῶν προσχώρων αὐτοῖς καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι πλήθει πολλῷ κατὰ θέαν συνήλθοσαν. ὁ δὲ Τούλλιος τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὺς ἔπεισεν, ὡς εὐνοῶν δῆθεν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς Οὐολούσκους φυλάσσεσθαι, παρεσκευασμένους ἐπιθέσθαι σφίσιν ἀνελπίστως ἐν τῇ ἱπποδρομίᾳ. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ μήνυμα κοινωσάμενοι, τοὺς Οὐολούσκους αὐτίκα πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἅπαντας ἐξεκήρυξαν. οἱ δὲ δυσανασχετήσαντες ὅτι μόνοι ἐκ πάντων ἐξελήλαντο, ἕτοιμοι πρὸς μάχην ἐγένοντο. καὶ προστησάμενοι τὸν Κοριο-

[1] ἧς supplied by Krebs. [2] αὐτὸν Bs., αὐτὸ Ms. [3] ἀντελπίσαντας Bk., ἀντελπίσας Ms. [4] τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων v. Herw., τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῶν Ms. [5] εὖ Bk., τι Ms.

had been his bitterest foes. He expected that because of his valour, of which they had had a taste, and because of the wrath that he cherished toward his fellow-citizens they would receive him gladly, since they might hope by his aid to inflict upon the Romans injuries equal to those they had received, or even greater. For when one has suffered severe injuries at the hands of any persons, one is strongly inclined to expect benefits as well from these same people in case they are willing and also able to confer favours.

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The chief men there and the magistrates were delighted and again made ready for war. Attius Tullius was urging this course upon them all, but the multitude was lacking in enthusiasm. So when the leaders could prevail upon them neither by exhortation nor by intimidation to take up arms, they concocted the following scheme. The Romans were conducting a horse-race, and the Volsci among other neighbouring peoples had gathered in a large body to behold the spectacle. Tullius, as a pretended friend of the Romans, persuaded the Roman praetors that they should keep watch on the Volsci, since the latter had made ready to attack them unexpectedly in the midst of the horse-race. The praetors, after communicating the information to the others, made proclamation at once, before the contest, that all the Volsci must depart. The Volsci, indignant because they alone of all the spectators had been expelled, put themselves in readiness for battle. Placing at

7 Πανὺ γὰρ περιθύμως ἔφερεν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκείας κινδυνεύοντες μηδ' ὣς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀφίσταντο. ὡς οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἀνηγγέλθη σφίσιν, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκινήθησαν· οὕτω πως κακῶς ἐστασίαζον ὥστε μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν κινδύνων καταλλαγῆναι· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἥ τε γαμετὴ τοῦ Κοριολανοῦ Οὐολουμνία[1] καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Οὐετουρία,[2]

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λᾶνόν τε καὶ τὸν Τούλλιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ τοὺς Λατίνους προσειληφότες, πλήθει ἐχώρησαν πλείονι. ὃ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα μὲν οὐκ ἐρρώσθησαν, ἐν αἰτίαις δ' ἀλλήλους πεποίηντο, οἱ μὲν τοῦ ὁμίλου τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ Κοριολᾶνος τυγχάνων μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα στρατεύοιτο, οἱ δὲ τὸν ὅμιλον ὅτι μὴ ἐνδίκως αὐτὸν ἐξελάσαντες πολέμιον πεποιήκασιν. οὕτω δὲ στασιάζοντες ἐς μέγα τι κακὸν ἐνέπεσον ἄν, εἰ μὴ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς ἐπεκούρησαν. ὡς γὰρ ἡ γερουσία κάθοδον τῷ Κοριολάνῳ ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρέσβεις πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐστάλησαν, ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις ἀποδοθῆναι ἀπῄτει ἧς ἐν τοῖς πρὶν πολέμοις ἐστέρηντο. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῆς χώρας οὐ μεθίετο. πάλιν οὖν ἑτέρα πρεσβεία.

Ὁ δὲ περιθύμως ἔφερεν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν κινδυνεύοντες οὐδ' οὕτω τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀφίστανται. καὶ τούτων δὲ ἀγγελθέντων αὐτοῖς οὔτ'[3] ἔτι κεκίνηντο οὔθ'[3] ὑπὸ τῶν κινδύνων οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ στασιάζειν ἐξίσταντο. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἥ τε γαμετὴ

[1] Οὐολουμνία Bk., οὐλουμνία Ms. [2] Οὐετουρία Bk., βετουρία Ms.
[3] οὔτ'—οὔθ' Dind., οὐδ'—οὐδ' Mss.

For he was exceedingly angry because they would not, even when in danger of losing their own country, withdraw from the possessions of others. When, now, this news was brought back to them, the men, for their part, were no more moved than before; they were, indeed, so bitterly at variance that not even dangers could reconcile them. But the women, Volumnia, the wife of Coriolanus,

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their head Coriolanus and Tullius, and with numbers swollen by the accession of the Latins, they advanced against Rome. The Romans, when informed of it, instead of making a vigorous use of arms, fell into mutual recriminations, the popular party censuring the patricians because Coriolanus, who was marching with the enemy against his country, belonged to their number, and the other party the populace because they had been unjust in expelling him and making him an enemy. Because of this B.C. 488 contention they would have incurred some great disaster, had not the women come to their aid. For when the senate voted to recall Coriolanus and envoys had been despatched to him to this end, he demanded that the land of which the Volsci had been deprived in the previous wars be given back to them. But the people would not relinquish the land. The result was a second embassy.

He was very angry because they would not, even when in danger of losing their own country, withdraw from the possessions of others. Now when this news was brought back to them, the men were still unmoved, and would not, even in the presence of dangers, desist from quarrelling. But the women, Volumnia,

παραλαβοῦσαι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας, ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὰ παιδία αὐτοῦ ἄγουσαι, καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν μὴ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ἀλλὰ[1] μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ καταλύσασθαι.
8 προσήκατο γὰρ αὐτὰς εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα παρούσας ᾔσθετο, καὶ λόγου σφίσι μετέδωκεν, ἐπράχθη τε ὧδε· αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι σιωπῶσαι ἔκλαον, ἡ δὲ δὴ Οὐετουρία[2] "τί θαυμάζεις," ἔφη, "τέκνον; τί δὲ ἐκπέπληξαι; οὐκ ηὐτομολήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς ἡ πατρὶς ἔπεμψέ σοι, εἰ μὲν πείθοιο, μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα, εἰ δὲ μή, λάφυρα, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ
9 νῦν ἔτι ὀργίζῃ, πρώτας ἡμᾶς ἀπόκτεινον. τί δακρύεις; τί δ' ἀποστρέφῃ; ἢ ἀγνοεῖς ὅπως τὰν τῇ πόλει ἡμεῖς τοι ἄρτι ὀδυρόμεναι ἐπαυσάμεθα, ἵνα σε ἴδωμεν; καταλλάγηθί τε οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ μηκέτι

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τοῦ Κοριολάνου Οὐολουμνία καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Οὐετουρίνα, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας παραλαβοῦσαι, ἦλθον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτοῦ ἐπαγόμεναι. καὶ αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι σιωπῶσαι ἐδάκρυον, ἡ δὲ Οὐετουρίνα "οὐκ ηὐτομολήκαμεν," ἔφη, "τέκνον, ἀλλ' ἡ πατρὶς ἡμᾶς ἔπεμψέ σοι, εἰ μὲν πείθοιο, μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα, εἰ δὲ μή, λάφυρα. καὶ εἰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ὀργίζῃ, πρώτας ἡμᾶς ἀπόκτεινον. καταλ-

[1] ἀλλὰ supplied by Gros. [2] Οὐετουρία Bk., βετουρία Ms.

and Veturia, his mother, gathering a company of all the most distinguished matrons, came to him in camp, bringing his children with them; and they caused him to end the war not only without requiring the surrender of the conquered territory, but without even demanding his own restoration. For he admitted them at once, as soon as he learned they were there, and granted them an interview, the course of which was as follows. While the rest wept in silence, Veturia began: "Why are you surprised, my son? Why are you startled? We are not deserters, but in us the country has sent to you, if you should yield, your mother and wife and children, but otherwise your spoil. Hence, if even now you still are angry, kill us first. Why do you weep? Why do you turn away? Or do you not know that we have just ceased lamenting the state of affairs in the city, in order that we might see you? Be reconciled with us, then, and harbour no longer

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the wife of Coriolanus, and Veturina, his mother, gathering a company of all the most distinguished matrons, came to him in camp, bringing his children along with them. And while the rest wept in silence, Veturina began: "We are not deserters, my son, but in us the country has sent to you, if you should yield, your mother and wife and children, but otherwise your spoil. And if even now you still are angry, kill us first. Be reconciled and harbour no longer

ὀργίζου τοῖς πολίταις τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς ἱεροῖς τοῖς τάφοις, μηδ' ἐπεσπέσῃς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ θυμῷ πολεμίῳ, μηδὲ ἐκπολιορκήσῃς τὴν πατρίδα ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐγεννήθης καὶ ἀνετράφης καὶ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο ὄνομα Κοριολανὸς ἐγένου. πείσθητί μοι, παιδίον, μηδέ με ἄπρακτον ἀποπέμψῃς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ νεκράν με ὑπ' αὐτοχειρίας ἴδῃς." ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα ἀνέκλαυσε, καὶ τήν τε ἐσθῆτα καταρρηξαμένη καὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς προδείξασα τῆς τε γαστρὸς ἁψαμένη, "ἰδού," ἔφη, "τέκνον, αὕτη σε ἔτεκεν, οὗτοί σε ἐξέθρεψαν." εἰπούσης δὲ αὐτῆς ταῦτα καὶ ἡ γαμετὴ αὐτοῦ τά τε παιδία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι γυναῖκες

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λάγηθι καὶ μηκέτι ὀργίζου τοῖς πολίταις τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς ἱεροῖς τοῖς τάφοις, μηδὲ ἐκπολιορκήσῃς τὴν πατρίδα, ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθης καὶ ἐτράφης καὶ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο ὄνομα Κοριολᾶνος ἐγένου. μή με ἄπρακτον ἀποπέμψῃς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ νεκράν με αὐτοχειρίᾳ θεάσῃ." ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνέκλαυσε, καὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς προδείξασα τῆς τε γαστρὸς ἁψαμένη, "αὕτη σε ἔτεκεν," ἔφη, "τέκνον, οὗτοί σε ἐξέθρεψαν." ἡ μὲν εἶπε ταῦτα, ἡ γαμετὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παιδία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι γυναῖκες συνεθρήνησαν,

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 551–55.

Καὶ εἰ μὴ μετὰ συρραγῆς ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου | δραμοῦσαι κατεσχίσαντο τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χιτῶνας | γυμναί τε περιέστησαν ἡ σύζυγος καὶ μήτηρ, | ἡ Βετουρνία τε αὐτὴ καὶ Βολουμνία κλῆσιν, | καὶ

your anger against your countrymen, your friends, your temples, your tombs; and do not burst into the city with hostile rage nor take by storm your native place, in which you were born, were reared, and became Coriolanus, bearer of this great name. Yield to me, my child, and send me not hence without result, unless you would see me dead by my own hand." At the end of this speech she burst into tears, and tearing open her clothing, bared her breasts, and touching her belly, exclaimed: "See, my child, this brought you forth, these reared you up." When she had thus spoken, his wife and children and the rest of the women joined in the

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your anger against your countrymen, your friends, your temples, your tombs; do not take by storm your native place, in which you were born, were reared, and became Coriolanus, bearer of this great name. Send me not hence without result, unless you would behold me dead by my own hand." Thereupon she burst into tears, and baring her breasts and touching her belly, exclaimed: "This brought you forth, my child, these reared you up." She, then, spoke thus; and his wife and children and the rest of the women joined in the

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 551–55.

And had not his wife and mother (Veturnia and Volumnia were their names) at the breaking out of that war run and rent their tunics and stood about him naked and checked him, with difficulty, from the

συνεθρήνησαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς πένθος ἐμ-
11 *βαλεῖν. μόλις τέ ποτε ἀνενεγκὼν περιέπτυξε τὴν*
μητέρα, καὶ φιλῶν ἅμα αὐτήν, "ἰδού,"[1] *ἔφη,*
"μῆτερ, πείθομαί σοι· σὺ γάρ με νικᾷς, καὶ σοὶ
δὴ[2] *ταύτην τὴν χάριν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐχέτω-*
σαν· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδ' ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπομένω, οἵτινες
τηλικαῦτα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εὐεργετηθέντες τοιαῦτά με
ἔδρασαν. οὔκουν οὐδ' ἀφίξομαί ποτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν·
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καὶ ἀντ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρίδα ἔχε,
ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο ἠθέλησας, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκποδὼν ὑμῖν
12 *ἀπαλλαγήσομαι." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπανέστη· τῷ τε*
γὰρ δέει τῷ τοῦ ὁμίλου καὶ τῇ αἰσχύνῃ τῶν
ὁμοίων, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεστρά-
τευσεν, οὐδὲ τὴν κάθοδον διδομένην οἱ ἐδέξατο,

Zonaras 7, 16.

ὥστε κἀκεῖνον εἰς πένθος κινῆσαι. μόλις δ' ἀνενεγκὼν περιέπλεξε τὴν μητέρα, καὶ φιλῶν ἅμα, "ἴδε," ἔφη, "μῆτερ, πείθομαί σοι· σὺ γάρ με νικᾷς. καὶ σοὶ ταύτην τὴν χάριν πάντες ἐχέτωσαν· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπομένω οἳ τηλικαῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ εὐεργετηθέντες τοιαῦτά μοι ἀνταπέδωκαν, οὐδ' ἀφίξομαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρίδα ἔχε, ὅτι τοῦτο ἠθέλησας, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπαλλαγήσομαι." ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπανέστη· καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν κάθοδον κατεδέξατο,

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 555–58.

τοῦτον μόλις ἔπαυσαν τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμης μάχης, | ἡ Ῥώμη ἂν ἐπέγνωκε τιμᾶν τοὺς εὐεργέτας. | ἀλλὰ λιταῖς ταῖς τῆς μητρὸς παυσθεὶς καὶ τῆς συζύγου | πόλεμον μὲν κατέπαυσε τὸν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, |

[1] ἰδοὺ Bk., ἴδε Ms. [2] δὴ Bk., δὲ Ms.

lament, so that he, too, was overcome with grief. Recovering himself at length with difficulty, he embraced his mother, and kissing her the while, replied: "See, mother, I yield to you. Yours is the victory, and to you let all the others ascribe this favour. For I cannot endure even to see those men, who after receiving such great benefits at my hands have treated me in such a way. Hence I will never even enter the city. But do you keep your country instead of me, since you have so wished it; and I will depart out of the way of you all." With these words he withdrew. For, through fear of the multitude and shame before his peers, in that he had ever undertaken an expedition against them, he would not accept even the restoration offered him,

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Zonaras 7, 16.

lament, so that he, too, was moved to grief. Recovering himself with difficulty, he enfolded his mother in his arms, and kissing her the while, replied: "See, mother, I yield to you. Yours is the victory, and to you let all ascribe this favour. For I cannot endure even to see those men, who after receiving such great benefits at my hands have given me such a recompense, nor will I enter the city. Do you keep your country instead of me, because you have so wished it, and I will depart." With these words he withdrew. And he would not even accept his

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 555–58.

battle against the Romans, Rome would have formed the resolve to honour benefactors. But brought to a halt by the prayers of his mother and of his wife, he stopped the war against the Romans, and leaving

ἀλλ' ἐς τοὺς Οὐόλσκους ἀναχωρήσας ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ καὶ γηράσας ἀπέθανεν.—M. 33 (p. 148).

15c *Δίων ε' βιβλίῳ "ἐπελπίζοντές τινα αὐτοὺς οἱ δυνατοί."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 140, 10.

19 *Ὅτι Κάσσιος τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὐεργετήσας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐθανατώθη· ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου διαδειχθῆναι ὅτι πιστὸν οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάνυ σφίσι προσκειμένους οὐχ ἧττον τῶν τὰ μέγιστα ἀδικούντων ἀπολλύουσι· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀεὶ παρὸν μεγάλους τοὺς αἰτίους τῶν ὠφελημάτων ἄγουσιν, ἐπειδὰν δέ σφας ἐκκαρπώσωνται, οὐδὲν ἔτ' αὐτοὺς οἰκειοτέρους τῶν ἐχθίστων νομίζουσι. τὸν γὰρ Κάσσιον καίπερ χαριζόμενόν σφισιν ὅμως ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐσεμνύνετο ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἔκδηλόν γε ἐποίησαν*[1] *ὅτι ζηλοτυπηθεὶς ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδικήσας τι ἀπώλετο.*—M. 34 (p. 150).

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ἀναχωρήσας δὲ εἰς τοὺς Οὐολούσκους ἐκεῖ γηράσας ἀπήλλαξεν.

Zonaras 7, 17.

17. *Οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι χώραν ἐκ πολεμίων προσκτηθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπῄτουν διανεμηθῆναι τῷ πλήθει· ὅθεν πρὸς ἀλλήλων τε καὶ πρὸς τῶν*

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 559–60.

αὐτὸς τοὺς Κοριόλους δὲ ἀφεὶς καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους | πρὸς ἄλλην γῆν ἀπέδραμε τῇ λύπῃ βεβλημένος.

[1] *ἐποίησαν* supplied by Bs.

but retired among the Volsci, and there died, either as the result of a plot or from old age.

Dio, Book V. "The rich, encouraging them with certain hopes."[1] B.C. 486?

Cassius after benefiting the Romans was put to death by that very people. Thus it was demonstrated anew in his case that there is no sense of loyalty in multitudes. On the contrary, they destroy men who are altogether devoted to them no less than men guilty of the greatest wrongs. For in each event they deem those great who are the cause of benefits to them, but when they have profited to the full by such men's services, they no longer regard them as having any nearer claims than bitterest foes. For Cassius, although he humoured them, was nevertheless slain by them because of the very matters on which he prided himself, and they made it clear that he perished through envy and not as the result of any wrong he had committed. B.C. 485

Zonaras 7, 16.

restoration, but retired among the Volsci, and there passed away in old age.

Zonaras 7, 17.

17. Now the tribunes demanded that some land acquired by the Romans from the enemy be apportioned among the people, and as a result of their B.C. 484

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 559–60.

behind the Corioli[2] and the Romans, himself hurried to another land, smitten with sorrow.

[1] Macchioro (*Klio* 10, 354 ff.) argues that this fragment refers to the year 486, when the patricians through their representative, Verginius, promised the people an assignment of public land. [2] See note on page 135.

20 Οἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀεὶ γιγνόμενοι ἐπειδὴ μηδένα ἄλλον τρόπον κατέχειν σφᾶς ἐδύναντο, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων ἐξεπίτηδες ἐκίνουν, ὅπως πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀσχολίαν ἄγοντες μηδὲν περὶ τῆς γῆς πολυπραγμονῶσιν.—M. 65 (p. 150).

3 Οὕτω γοῦν ὑφ' ἑκατέρου παρωξύνθησαν ὥστε καὶ τὴν νίκην ἔνορκον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὑποσχέσθαι· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν αὐτίκα ὁρμὴν κύριοι καὶ τῆς τύχης εἶναι ἐνόμισαν.—M. 36 (p. 150).

4 Ὅτι ἔοικε τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἀνθιστάμενον καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον φιλονεικεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ὑπείκουσι καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ἀνθυπουργεῖν.—M. 37 (p. 151) = Max. Conf. flor. f. 189ᵛ A (f. 125ᵛ B) = Arsen. ap. Mai. fr. 115 (p. 561).

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πολεμίων πολλὰ ἐκακώθησαν. οἱ γὰρ δυνατοὶ μὴ ἄλλως κατέχειν αὐτοὺς δυνάμενοι, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων ἐξεπίτηδες ἐκίνουν, ἵν' αὐτοῖς ἀσχολούμενοι μηδὲν περὶ τῆς γῆς πολυπραγμονῶσι. χρόνῳ δέ ποτε ὑποτοπήσαντές τινες τὸ πραττόμενον, οὐκ εἴων καὶ ἄμφω τοὺς ὑπάτους ἢ στρατηγοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀποδείκνυσθαι, ἀλλ' ἤθελον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν αἱρεῖσθαι. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο κατειργάσαντο, προείλοντο Σπούριον Φούριον,[1] καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου στρατευσάμενοι πάντα ἐφ' ὅσα ὥρμησαν προθύμως κατέπραξαν. οἱ δὲ τῷ συνάρχοντι αὐτοῦ Φαβίῳ Καίσωνι συνεξελθόντες οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐρρώσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκλιπόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθον καὶ ἐθορύβουν, ἕως οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ τοῦτο μαθόντες ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς. καὶ τότε μέντοι οὐ πρότερον ἐξῆλθον τῆς

[1] Φούριον Wolf, φρούριον Mss.

For the men from time to time in control of affairs, when they became unable to restrain the people by any other method, stirred up purposely war after war, in order that they might be kept busy attending to those conflicts and not disturb themselves about the land.

At any rate they were so inflamed with rage by each of the two as to promise victory under oath to their generals; with regard to the immediate attack they thought themselves actually lords of destiny. B.C. 480

It is natural for the majority of the human race to quarrel with an opposing force even beyond what is to its own advantage, and upon those who yield to bestow a benefit in turn even beyond its power.

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action many injuries were received by the citizens both from one another and from the enemy. For the nobles, being unable to restrain the people in any other way, stirred up purposely war after war, in order that, being busied therewith, they might not disturb themselves about the land. But after a time some persons began to suspect what was going on, and would not permit both of the consuls (or praetors) to be appointed by the nobles, but desired to choose one of them themselves from the patricians. Upon gaining this point they selected Spurius Furius, and campaigning with him accomplished with enthusiasm all the objects for which they had set out. But those who took the field with his colleague, Kaeso Fabius, not only displayed no energy, but abandoned their camp, came to the city, and raised a tumult, until the Etruscans, learning of it, assailed them. Even then, in fact, they B.C. 481 B.C. 480

21 *῞Οτι οἱ Φάβιοι ἐπί τε τῷ γένει καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ ὅμοια τοῖς ἀρίστοις φρονοῦντες ὡς τάχιστα αὐτοὺς ἀθυμοῦντας εἶδον· ὅταν γάρ τινες ἐς πολλὰς ἅμα καὶ δυσχερεῖς πράξεις ἐμπέσωσιν, οὔτε τι βούλευμα πρός τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀθρόον τῶν κινδύνων ἐξευρεῖν δύνανται, καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὰ πάνυ ῥᾴδια ἀπογιγνώσκουσι, κἀκ τούτου ταῖς τε γνώμαις παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ*[1] *ταῖς δόξαις ἀναπίπτουσι, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἑκόντες ὡς καὶ μάτην πονήσοντες προΐενται, καὶ τέλος ἐπιτρέψαντές σφας τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου παραλόγοις ἀναμένουσι πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν ἡ συντυχία ἐνέγκῃ.*—M. 38 (p. 151).

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πόλεως πρὶν τῶν δημάρχων τινὰς συμφρονῆσαι τοῖς δυνατοῖς. ἠγωνίσαντο δὲ προθύμως, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων διέφθειραν, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον· ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ ὁ εἷς τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ Μάλιος. *ὁ δὲ ὅμιλος στρατηγὸν τὸ τρίτον τὸν* Μάλιον *εἵλετο.*

Καὶ *πόλεμος αὖθις αὐτοῖς ἐπενήνεκτο πρὸς τῶν* Τυρσηνῶν· *ἀθυμοῦσι δὲ* Ῥωμαίοις *καὶ ἀποροῦσι πῶς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀντικαταστῶσιν, οἱ Φάβιοι ἐπεκούρησαν. ἓξ γὰρ ὄντες καὶ τριακόσιοι, ὡς ἀθυμοῦντας εἶδον αὐτοὺς καὶ μήτε τι βουλευομένους λυσιτελὲς καὶ ἀπογινώσκοντας ἅπαντα, τὸν πρὸς τοὺς* Τυρσηνοὺς *ὑπεδέξαντο πόλεμον αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν προθυμηθέντες μαχέσασθαι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι. καί τι χωρίον κατα-*

[1] *καὶ* after *εἰκὸς* Bk., after *γνώμαις* Ms.

BOOK V

The Fabii, who on the basis of birth and wealth were as proud-spirited as the noblest, very quickly saw that they [the Romans] were dejected. For when men involve themselves in undertakings at once numerous and difficult, they can discover no device for confronting the multitude and array of dangers, and give up as hopeless quite easy projects; after which they lose their spirit, strange to say, as well as their confidence, and voluntarily abandon matters in hand, with the idea that their labour will be in vain; finally they surrender themselves to the uncertain dispensations of Heaven and await whatever Chance may bring. B.C. 478

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did not march out of the city until some of the tribunes came to an agreement with the nobles. Still, they fought vigorously and destroyed many of the enemy, and not a few of their own number also were killed. One of the consuls, Manlius, likewise fell; the populace chose Manlius praetor for the third time.[1]

Again a war was waged against them by the Etruscans. And when the Romans were dejected and at a loss to know how they should withstand the enemy, the Fabii came to their aid. These, three hundred and six in number, when they saw that the Romans were dejected, were not following profitable counsels, and were despairing of their whole cause, took upon themselves the burden of the war against the Etruscans, offering to carry on the conflict zealously all by themselves with their persons and with their wealth. They occupied and fortified an ad- B.C. 478

[1] The second "Manlius" is evidently an error of Zonaras. The name should be Fabius.

2 Ὅτι οἱ Φάβιοι ἓξ καὶ τριακόσιοι ὄντες ὑπὸ Τυρσηνῶν ἀνῃρέθησαν· καὶ γάρ πως τὸ δι' ἀνδρείας[1] πίστιν ὀγκούμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θράσους πολλάκις φθείρεται, τό τε δι' εὐτυχίαν αὐχοῦν ἐς τοὐναντίον ἐκφρονῆσαν ἐκπίπτει.—M. 39 (p. 151).

3 Οὓς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μειζόνως ἢ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀπογενομένων καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ ἐπένθησαν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν εὐπατρίδαις οὐ σμικρός, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τό τε φρόνημα αὐτῶν πᾶσάν σφων ἀπολωλέναι τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐνόμιζον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τήν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ διεφθάρησαν ἐς τὰς μιαρὰς ἐνέγραψαν, καὶ τὰς πύλας δι' ὧν ἐξεστράτευσαν ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐποιήσαντο, ὥστε μηδένα δι' αὐτῶν ἄρχοντα διιέναι. καὶ Τίτου Μενηνίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτου τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο) κατηγορηθέντος ὕστερον ἐν τῷ

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λαβόντες ἐπίκαιρον ἐνετειχίσαντο, ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι πάντα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἦγον, τῶν Τυρσηνῶν μηδὲ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἰέναι θαρρούντων, εἰ δὲ καί ποτε συμμίξειαν, ἐλαττουμένων παρὰ πολύ. προσλαβόμενοι δὲ καὶ συμμάχους οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἐν ὑλώδει χωρίῳ ἐλόχησαν, καὶ ἀφυλάκτους ἐπελθόντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς Φαβίους ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα νικᾶν, περιεστοίχισαν καὶ πάντας ἐφόνευσαν. καὶ παντελῶς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ εἷς τις οἴκοι

[1] ἀνδρείας Bk., ἀνδρείαν Ms.

BOOK V

The Fabii, three hundred and six in number, were killed by the Etruscans. Thus the arrogance which arises from confidence in one's valour is ofttimes brought to naught by this very boldness, and the boastfulness which comes from good fortune runs mad and suffers a complete reverse. B.C. 477

For these the Romans grieved, both in private and with public demonstrations, to a greater degree than the number of the lost would seem to warrant. That number was not small, to be sure, especially since it was composed entirely of patricians; but they further felt, when they stopped to consider the reputation and the resolute spirit of these men, that all their strength had perished. For this reason they inscribed among the accursed days the one on which these men had been destroyed and put under the ban the gates through which they had marched out, so that no magistrate might pass through them. And they condemned to death Titus Menenius, the praetor,—for it was in his year that the disaster took place,—when he was later accused before the people

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vantageous position from which as a base they ravaged the entire hostile domain, since the Etruscans would not even venture to engage in combat with them, or, if they ever did join issue, were decisively defeated. But, upon the accession of allies, the Etruscans laid an ambuscade in a wooded spot; and when the Fabii, as masters of the whole field, assailed them incautiously, they surrounded and slew them all. And their race would have entirely disappeared, had not one of them B.C. 477

δήμῳ ὅτι μήτ'[1] ἐκείνοις ἤμυνε[2] καὶ μάχῃ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἡττήθη, κατεψηφίσαντο.—V. 9 (p. 578).

24, 5 Δίωνος ϛ' βιβλίῳ "ἐπειδὴ διῆρξεν,[3] εἰσήγαγον καὶ χρημάτων ἐζημίωσαν, οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐς κίνδυνον καταστήσαντες . . ."[4]—Bekk. Anecd. p. 146, 21.

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κατελείφθη διὰ νεότητα, ἀφ' οὗπερ αὖθις εἰσέπειτα ἤνθησαν.

Τῶν δὲ Φαβίων οὕτω φθαρέντων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μάλα παρὰ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ἐκακώθησαν. εἶτα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, τραπόμενοι δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἔπραξαν πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀποσχέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος. τούς τε γὰρ ὑπηρέτας αὐτῶν ἔπαιον καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους κατέκλων, αὐτούς τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὑπ' εὐθύνην ἦγον ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάττονι. Ἄππιον οὖν Κλαύδιον καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐβουλεύσαντο, ὅτι τε αὐτοῖς ἠναντιοῦτο εἰς ἅπαντα καὶ ὅτι τοὺς συστρατευσαμένους αὐτῷ ἐδεκάτευσεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις ἐν μάχῃ ἐνέδοσαν. ἡ δεκάτευσις δὲ τοιόνδε τι ἦν. ὅτε τι οἱ στρατιῶται μέγα ἡμάρτησαν, ὁ στρατηγὸς εἰς δεκάδας αὐτοὺς ἀριθμῶν, ἕνα λαβὼν ἐξ ἑκάστης δεκάδος τὸν κλήρῳ λαχόντα θανάτῳ ἐκόλαζεν. ἀπελθόντα δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν Κλαύδιον εὐθὺς οἱ τοῦ πλήθους εἰς ἀγῶνα κατέστησαν, καὶ οὐ κατεψηφίσαντο μέν,

[1] μήτ' Bk., μὴ Ms.
[2] ἐκείνοις ἤμυνε Val., μετ' ἐκείνοις ἤμυσσε (or ἤμνασε) Ms.
[3] ἐπειδὴ διῆρξεν de Boer, ἐπειδὴ ἦρξεν Ms.
[4] καταστήσαντες Bk., καταστήσας Ms.

of having failed to assist the Fabii and of having been defeated subsequently in battle.

Dio, Book VI. "When he had ended his term of office, they indicted him and imposed a fine, but neither brought him into danger of his life. . . ."[1] B.C. 476?

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because of his youth been left at home; in his descendants the family later attained renewed renown.

After the Fabii had thus been destroyed the Romans suffered many injuries at the hands of the Etruscans. Subsequently they concluded a peace with the enemy, but turning against one another committed many outrages; in fact, the populace did not refrain from attacking even the praetors. They beat their assistants B.C. 473
and shattered their fasces and made the praetors themselves submit to investigation on every pretext, great and small. Thus, they actually planned to throw B.C. 471
Appius Claudius into prison in the very midst of his term of office, inasmuch as he persistently opposed them at every point and had decimated the troops who served under him because of their giving way before the Volsci in battle. Now decimation was the following sort of process. When the soldiers had committed any grave offence the leader told them off in groups of ten, and taking one man of each ten, who had drawn the lot, he would punish him by death. Upon Claudius' retirement from office the popular party straightway brought him to trial; and though they

[1] Boissevain shows that this fragment, commonly understood of Camillus, cannot refer to him, and he would therefore refer it to Menenius (cf. Livy 2, 52), in spite of the fact that it is cited from Book VI.; but the book numbers are often erroneously cited. Von Gutschmid refers to Postumius, B.C. 423 (cf. Livy, 4, 40, 4).

22 Ὅτι οἱ εὐπατρίδαι φανερῶς μὲν οὐ πάνυ πλὴν βραχέων ἐπιθειάζοντές τινα ἀντέπραττον, λάθρᾳ δὲ συχνοὺς τῶν θρασυτάτων ἐφόνευον. ἐννέα γάρ ποτε δήμαρχοι πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐδόθησαν· ἀλλ' οὔτε τοῦτο τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπέσχεν, πολλῷ τε[1] πλείονα ἐλπίδα οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀεὶ δημαρχοῦντες ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φιλονεικίας ἢ δέος ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων συμφορᾶς λαμβάνοντες, οὐκ ἠμβλύνοντο, ἀλλὰ

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τὴν ψῆφον δὲ ὑπερθέμενοι ἐς ἀνάγκην αὐτὸν αὐτοχειρίας κατέστησαν. καί τινες δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἄλλα τε κατὰ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν συνέγραψαν καὶ τὸ ἐξεῖναι τῷ πλήθει καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ συνιέναι καὶ ἄνευ ἐκείνων βουλεύεσθαι καὶ χρηματίζειν πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν ἐθελήσῃ. κἄν τις ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ τινὶ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν προστιμηθῇ,[2] ἔκκλητον ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν δῆμον δικάζειν ἔταξαν. καὶ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους δὲ καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ἐπηύξησαν, ἵνα πλείστους τοὺς αὐτῶν προϊσταμένους ἔχωσι.

Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων οἱ εὐπατρίδαι φανερῶς μὲν οὐ πάνυ ἀντέπραττον πλὴν βραχέων, λάθρᾳ δὲ συχνοὺς τῶν θρασυτάτων ἐφόνευον. ἀλλ' οὔτε τοῦτο τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπέσχεν οὔθ' ὅτι ποτὲ ἐννέα δήμαρχοι πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐδόθησαν. οὐ μόνον γὰρ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δημαρχοῦντες οὐκ ἠμβλύνοντο,

[1] πολλῷ τε Bs., πόλλα Ms.
[2] προστιμηθῇ Dind., προστιμωθῇ CA^c, προστιμωρηθῇ B.

BOOK V

The patricians openly took scarcely any retaliatory measures, except in a few cases, where they appealed to Heaven for vengeance; but they secretly slaughtered a number of the boldest spirits. Thus, nine tribunes on one occasion were delivered to the flames by the populace. This did not, however, deter the others; on the contrary, those who in turn held the tribuneship afterwards derived far more encouragement from their own eagerness for the struggle than fear from the fate of their predecessors. Hence, far from being disheartened, they were even

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failed to condemn him, they forced him, by postponing their vote, to commit suicide. And among the measures introduced by some of the tribunes to the prejudice of the patrician interests was one permitting the populace to convene separately and without interference from the patricians to deliberate upon and transact as much business as they pleased. They also ordained that, if any one for any cause should have an excessive penalty imposed upon him by the praetors, the populace might thereupon have the case appealed to them and decide it. And they increased the number of aediles and tribunes, in order to have a large body of persons to act as their champions.

During the progress of these events the patricians openly took scarcely any retaliatory measures, except in a few cases, but secretly slaughtered a number of the boldest spirits. Neither this, however, nor the fact that on one occasion nine tribunes were delivered to the flames by the populace deterred the others. Not only were those who subsequently held the

καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτῶν τούτων ἐθρασύνοντο·
2 τούς τε γὰρ ἀπολλυμένους ἐς δικαίωμα τῆς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν τιμωρίας προεβάλλοντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ μεγάλην ἡδονὴν ἐκ τοῦ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἀκινδύνως περιέσεσθαι · νομίζειν προσετίθεντο. ὥστε καὶ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τινας, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἄλλως ἤνυτον, ἐς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους νομίσματα μεταστῆναι· τὴν γὰρ ταπεινότητα αὐτοῦ πολὺ κρείττω[1] πρὸς τὰς τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἰσχύος ἐπιθυμίας τῆς τῶν σφετέρων καλλωπισμάτων ἀσθενείας ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ πλεῖόν τε ἔτι, καίπερ κωλυθὲν τό τινα δὶς[2] τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν, συχνοὶ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἐδημάρχουν. —M. 40 (p. 152).

3 Ὅτι ἐς τοῦτο ὁ[3] ὅμιλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν προήχθη· ὃ γάρ τοι ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἡγοῦντο ποιεῖν, τὸ πολέμους τινὰς ἀεὶ παρασκευάζειν σφίσιν, ὅπως ὑπό γε τῶν ἔξωθεν κινδύνων σωφρονεῖν ἀναγκάζωνται, τοῦτο θρασυτέρους αὐτοὺς ἀπειργάζετο· οὔτε γὰρ στρατεύειν, εἰ μὴ λάβοιεν

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ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐθρασύνοντο. εἰς τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν προήχθη ὁ ὅμιλος. οὔτε γὰρ στρατεύειν ἐπείθοντο πολέμων ἐπικειμένων, εἰ μὴ ὧν

[1] κρείττω supplied by Mai. [2] δὶς supplied by v. Herw.
[3] ὁ added by Krebs.

the more emboldened by those very proceedings. For they put forward the death of the former tribunes as a justification of the vengeance they were going to take in their own behalf; and personally they got great pleasure out of the belief that they might, after all, accomplish the unexpected and come through unharmed. The consequence was that some of the patricians, being unable to effect anything otherwise, transferred themselves to the ranks of the populace; they thought its humble condition, in view of their desire for the tribunician power, far preferable to the weakness of their own ornamental distinctions, especially since many held the office a second and third and even a greater number of times, and that in succession, although it was forbidden to take the position twice.

To this state was the populace brought by the patricians themselves. For the policy which the latter pursued with an eye to their own advantage—that of always having some wars in readiness for them, so that the people might be compelled by the dangers from without to practise moderation—was a policy that only rendered the people bolder. By

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tribuneship not disheartened, but they were actually the more emboldened. To this state was the populace brought by the patricians. They would not obey the summons to go on a campaign, though

ὧν ἑκάστοτε ἐπωρέγοντο, βουλόμενοι, καὶ ἀπροθύμως ὁπότε ἐξέλθοιεν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πάνθ' ὅσ' ἤθελον ἔπραττον. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν πλησιοχώρων σφίσι, τῇ ἐκείνων διχοστασίᾳ πλέον ἢ τῇ ἑαυτῶν δυνάμει θαρσοῦντες, ἐνεωτέριζον.—M. 41 (p. 152).

23 Ὅτι οἱ Αἴκουοι τό τε Τούσκουλον λαβόντες καὶ Μᾶρκον Μινούκιον νικήσαντες ἐν φρονήματι ἐγένοντο, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οὓς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ χωρίου καταλήψει αἰτιώμενοί σφας ἔπεμψαν, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἐπίκλημα μηδὲν ἀποκρίνασθαι, δρῦν δέ τινα διὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφων Κοιλίου Γράκχου δείξαντες, πρὸς ἐκείνην, εἴ τι βούλοιντο, λέγειν αὐτοὺς κελεῦσαι. —U[R] 1 (p. 373).

2 Ὅτι πυθόμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Μινούκιον ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ καὶ λοχμώδει τόπῳ μετά τινων ἀπει-

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ωρέγοντο ἔτυχον, καὶ εἴ ποτε δ' ἐξῆλθον, ἀπροθύμως ἐμάχοντο, εἰ μὴ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο ἤνυσαν. κἀντεῦθεν πολλοὶ τῶν προσοίκων αὐτοῖς τῇ ἐκείνων διχοστασίᾳ πλέον[1] ἢ τῇ ἑαυτῶν θαρροῦντες ἰσχύϊ ἐνεωτέρισαν.

Ὧν ἦσαν καὶ Αἰκουοί, οἳ Μάρκον Μινούκιον στρατηγοῦντα τότε νικήσαντες ἐφρονηματίσθησαν. μαθόντες δὲ τὸν Μινούκιον ἡττημένον οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δικτάτορα Λούκιον Κυΐντιον εἵλοντο,

[1] πλέον supplied by Cary, in accordance with Wolf's translation. Compare the fragment above.

refusing to go on a campaign unless they obtained in each instance the objects for which they were striving, and by contending listlessly whenever they did take the field, they accomplished all that they desired. Meanwhile, as a matter of fact, not a few of the neighbouring tribes, relying on the dissension of their foes more than on their own power, kept revolting.

The Aequi, after capturing Tusculum and conquering Marcus Minucius, became so proud that when Roman ambassadors were sent to chide them regarding the seizure of the place, they made no answer at all to the censure, but after designating, by the mouth of their general, Cloelius Gracchus, a certain oak, bade them speak to it, if they desired anything. B.C. 458

The Romans, on learning that Minucius with some followers had been intercepted in a bushy defile, elected as dictator against the enemy Lucius B.C. 455

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wars were threatening, unless they secured the objects for which they were striving; and if they ever did take the field, they fought listlessly, unless they had accomplished all that they desired. Hence many of the tribes living close to them, relying on the dissension of their foes more than on their own strength, revolted.

Among these were the Aequi, who, after conquering at this time Marcus Minucius, the praetor, became filled with pride. The men in Rome, learning that Minucius had been defeated, chose as dictator Lucius Quinctius, who was a poor man and had

λῆφθαι, δικτάτορα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Λούκιον Κοΐντιον,[1] καίπερ πένητα ὄντα, τό τε γήδιον, ὃ μόνον αὐτῷ ὑπῆρχεν, αὐτοχειρίᾳ τότε γεωργοῦντα, προεχειρίσαντο· ἔς τε γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα ὅμοιος τοῖς πρώτοις ἀρετὴν ἦν καὶ σωφροσύνῃ διέπρεπεν, καίτοι τὰς κόμας ἐς πλοκάμους ἀνιείς, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ Κιγκινᾶτος ἐπωνομάσθη.—V. 10 (p. 578).

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πένητα μὲν ἄνδρα καὶ γεωργίᾳ συνεζηκότα, ἐς ἀρετὴν δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην διαπρεπῆ, καίτοι τὰς κόμας ἐς πλοκάμους ἀνιέντα, ὅθεν καὶ Κικινάτος ὠνόμαστο. οὗτος οὖν δικτάτωρ προχειρισθείς, καὶ αὐθημερὸν ἐκστρατεύσας, καὶ τάχει σὺν ἀσφαλείᾳ χρησάμενος, καὶ τοῖς Αἰκουοῖς προσβαλὼν μετὰ τοῦ Μινουκίου, πλείστους μὲν διέφθειρε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐζώγρησεν· οὓς ὑπὸ ζυγὸν διαγαγὼν ἀφῆκεν. ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ἡ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τοιάδε τις ἦν. σταυροὺς δύο, ὄρθια δηλαδὴ ξύλα διέχοντα ἀλλήλων, εἰς τὴν γῆν κατεπήγνυον, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπετίθουν ἐγκάρσιον ἕτερον, καὶ διὰ μέσου τούτων τοὺς ἁλόντας διῆγον γυμνούς· ὃ τοῖς μὲν δρῶσι λαμπρότητα, πολλὴν δ' ἀτιμίαν τοῖς πάσχουσιν ἔφερεν, ὥστε τινὰς τοῦ τοιοῦτόν τι παθεῖν προαιρεῖσθαι θανεῖν. καὶ πόλιν δὲ αὐτῶν Κορούινον καλουμένην ἑλὼν ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ τὸν Μινούκιον διὰ τὴν ἧτταν τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφείλετο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν.

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18. Οἱ μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι οἰκεῖον ἐσχήκασι πόλεμον, ὃς ἐκ δούλων συνέστη καὶ φυγάδων τινῶν, οἳ

[1] Λούκιον Κοΐντιον Val., λούκονκοιντον Ms.

Quinctius, in spite of the fact that he was a poor man and at the time was engaged in tilling with his own hands the little piece of ground which was his sole possession. For in addition to being the equal of the foremost in general excellence, he was distinguished for his moderation; though he did let his hair grow in curls, from which practice he received the nickname of Cincinnatus.

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devoted his life to farming, but was distinguished for his excellence and moderation; though he did let his hair grow in curls, whence he was named Cincinnatus. He, upon being elected dictator, took the field that very day, used wariness as well as speed, and joining with Minucius in attacking the Aequi, killed great numbers of them and captured the rest alive; the latter he led under the yoke and then released. The nature of the yoke was somewhat as follows. The Romans used to fix in the ground two poles (upright wooden beams, that is to say, with a space between them) and across them they would lay a transverse beam; through the frame thus formed they led the captives naked. This conferred great distinction upon the side that conducted the operation, but vast dishonour upon the side that endured it, so that some preferred to die rather than submit to any such treatment. Cincinnatus also captured a city of theirs called Corbio, and then returned; he removed Minucius from his praetorship because of his defeat, and resigned his own office.

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18. The Romans, however, now had a war on their hands at home,[1] in which their adversaries B.C. 460?

[1] If this paragraph refers to the attack made under the leadership of Herdonius in 460, it is out of its proper place.

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νυκτὸς ἐπεξελθόντες ἐξαπιναίως τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐκράτησαν. ὁ δ' ὅμιλος καὶ τότε οὐ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγένετο πρίν τι πλέον σχεῖν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν. ἐπελθόντες δέ γε τοῖς στασιάσασιν ἐκράτησαν μὲν αὐτῶν, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν σφετέρων ἀπέβαλον.

Διὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διά τινα σημεῖα εὐλαβηθέντες, τῶν τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπηλλάγησαν ἐγκλημάτων, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἰσωτέραν ποιήσασθαι ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἔθη πεπόμφασι. καὶ κομισθέντων αὐτῶν τάς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν δημάρχων κατέλυσαν, καὶ ἄνδρας ὀκτὼ ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἀνθείλοντο, καὶ Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον Τίτον τε Γενούκιον ἀπέδειξαν κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον στρατηγοὺς αὐτοκράτορας. καὶ νόμους αὐτοῖς συγγράψαι ἐπέτρεψαν, μηδεμίαν τε δίκην ἐφέσιμον ἀπ' αὐτῶν γενέσθαι προσεψηφίσαντο· ὃ πρῴην οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πλὴν τῶν δικτατόρων ἐδέδοτο. ἦρξάν τε οὗτοι ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἕκαστος, ἐναλλὰξ τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἡγεμονίας λαμβάνοντες. καὶ νόμους συγγράψαντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξέθηκαν· οἳ ἐπεὶ πᾶσιν ἤρεσαν, ἐς τὸν δῆμον εἰσήχθησαν, καὶ κυρωθέντες σανίσιν ἐνεγράφησαν δέκα· ὅσα γὰρ φυλακῆς ἐκρίθησαν ἄξια, ἐν σανιδίοις ἐθησαυρίζοντο.

Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνύσαντες ἀφῆκαν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἕτεροι δ' αὖθις αἱρεθέντες δέκα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς πολιτείας χειροτονηθέντες, ἐξώκειλαν. πάντες γὰρ ἅμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἦρχον,

BOOK V

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were slaves and some exiles who made an attack unexpectedly by night and secured possession of the Capitol. This time, too, the multitude did not take up arms until some further concessions had been wrung from the patricians. Then they assailed the rebels and overcame them, but lost many of their own men.

For these reasons, accordingly, and because of certain portents, the Romans became sobered, dismissed their mutual grievances and voted to establish the rights of citizenship on a fairer basis. And B.C. 454
they sent three men to Greece to observe the laws and the customs of the people there. Upon the return of the commission they abolished all the magistracies, including that of the tribunes, and chose instead eight of the foremost men, and appointed Appius Claudius and Titus Genucius praetors with absolute power for that year. They em- B.C. 451
powered them to compile laws, and further voted that no appeal could be taken from them—a power granted previously to none of the magistrates except the dictators. These men held sway each for a day, assuming by turns the dignity of rulership. They also compiled laws which they exposed to view in the Forum. When the laws were found acceptable to all, they were brought before the people, and after receiving their ratification were inscribed on ten tables; for all records that were deemed worthy of safe-keeping used to be preserved on tables.

The above-mentioned magistrates surrendered their B.C. 450
office at the expiration of the year, but ten more chosen anew—for the overthrow of the state, as it almost seemed—came to grief. For they all held sway at once on equal terms, and chose from among the

3 *Ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐταράχθη· οἵ τε γὰρ στρατευόμενοι φιλονεικίᾳ τοῦ μηδὲν τοῖς τὴν δυναστείαν ἔχουσι προχωρῆσαι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐθελονταὶ προΐεντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπολλυμένοις σφῶν ἔχαιρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ πολλοὺς τῶν δραστηρίων τῶν τὰ τοῦ πλήθους*

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καὶ νεανίσκους ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν θρασυτάτους ἐκλεξάμενοι πολλὰ δι' αὐτῶν ἐποίουν καὶ βίαια· ὀψὲ δέ ποτε ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους ὀλίγα ἄττα ἐν δύο σανίσι προσέγραψαν ἐς πάντα δὴ αὐτογνωμονήσαντες. ἀφ' ὧν οὐχ ὁμόνοια, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφοραὶ μείζους Ῥωμαίοις γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλον.

Αἱ μὲν οὖν λεγόμεναι δώδεκα δέλτοι οὕτως τότε ἐγένοντο· οἱ δὲ νομοθέται ἐκεῖνοι οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἔπραξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς διελθόντος ἔτι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐνέμειναν, βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν κατέχοντες, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἀθροίζοντες, ἵνα μὴ συνελθόντες παύσωσιν αὐτούς. Αἰκουῶν δὲ καὶ Σαβίνων πόλεμον αἱρομένων κατὰ Ῥωμαίων, τότε τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους αὐτοῖς παρασκευάσαντες διεπράξαντο σφίσι τοὺς πολέμους ἐπιτραπῆναι. ἐκ γοῦν τῆς δεκαρχίας αὐτῶν Σερούιος μὲν Ὄππιος καὶ Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν, οἱ δὲ ὀκτὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐστράτευσαν.

Πάντα μέντοι ἁπλῶς καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τετάρακτο, κἀντεῦθεν στάσις αὖθις συνηνέχθη. ἐμβαλόντες γὰρ εἰς τὴν

Affairs of camp and state alike were thrown into confusion. For the men under arms, eagerly vying with one another to prevent any success from attending those who held the power, voluntarily disregarded both the public and their own personal interests; while those in the city not only took pleasure in the death of their opponents at the hands of the enemy, but themselves likewise

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patricians some most brazen youths, through whose agency they committed many acts of violence. At last, toward the end of the year, they compiled some few additional statutes written upon two tables, all of which were the product of their own arbitrary judgment. From these not harmony but greater disputes were destined to fall to the lot of the Romans.

The so-called twelve tables were thus created at that time. But besides doing this the lawgivers in question, when their year of office had expired, still remained in control of affairs, occupying the city by force; and they would not even convene the senate or the people, lest, if they came together, they should depose them. And when the Aequi and the Sabines now stirred up war against the Romans, these officials by arrangement with their adherents arranged to have the conduct of the wars entrusted to them. Thus, of the decemvirate Servius Oppius and Appius Claudius alone remained at home; the other eight set out against the enemy.

Absolutely all the affairs, however, of state and camp alike were thrown into confusion, and hence contention again arose. For the leaders of the army

πραττόντων ἐκ τρόπου δή τινος ἐπιτηδείου ἔφθειρον. κἀκ τούτου στάσις οὐ σμικρά σφων συνηνέχθη.—M. 42 (p. 153).

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τῶν Σαβίνων γῆν οἱ στρατίαρχοι Λούκιόν τινα Σίκιον, ἄκρον τε τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ ὁμίλου καταριθμούμενον, μεθ' ἑτέρων ὥς τι χωρίον καταληψόμενον ἔπεμψαν, καὶ διὰ τῶν συνεκπεμφθέντων αὐτῷ τὸν ἄνδρα διέφθειραν. λόγου δ' εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον γεγονότος ὡς παρὰ πολεμίων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σὺν ἄλλοις ἀνῃρημένου, οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὁρμήσαντες οὐδὲν σῶμα τῶν ἐναντίων εὑρήκασι, συχνοὺς δὲ τῶν ὁμοφύλων, οὓς ὁ Σίκιος ἐπιθεμένους αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινεν ἀμυνόμενος. ὡς οὖν κύκλῳ τε αὐτοῦ κειμένους καὶ τετραμμένους πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶδον, ὑπετόπησαν τὸ γενόμενον καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐθορύβησαν· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς καὶ διά τι τοιοῦτον.

Λούκιός τις Οὐεργίνιος ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ὢν καὶ θυγατέρα ἔχων περικαλλῆ Λουκίῳ Ἰκιλλίῳ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῷ ἐκδώσειν ἔμελλε. ταύτης ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐρασθεὶς καὶ μὴ τυχών, παρεσκεύασέ τινας δουλαγωγῆσαι αὐτήν· καὶ δικαστὴς ἦν ἐκεῖνος. ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ τῆς κόρης πατὴρ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐδικαιολογεῖτο. ὡς δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος ταύτης κατεψηφίσατο καὶ τοῖς δουλαγωγοῦσιν αὐτὴν ἡ κόρη παρεδόθη καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπήμυνεν, ὑπερήλγησεν ὁ ταύτης πατήρ, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα κοπίδι διαχειρισάμενος πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς εἶχεν ἐξώρμη-

destroyed in some convenient manner many of the more active champions of the populace. As a result no small contention arose between the parties.

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had invaded the land of the Sabines and had sent a certain Lucius Sicius, a mighty warrior, and accounted also among the foremost of the populace, along with some companions, ostensibly to seize a certain position; but they had the man slain by the party that had been sent out with him. The report was brought into camp that the man with others had been killed by the foe, and the soldiers went out to gather up the dead bodies. They found not one corpse belonging to the enemy, but many of their own race, whom Sicius had killed in his own defence when they attacked him. And when they saw the dead lying all around him with their faces turned towards him, they suspected what had been done and actually raised a tumult. There was still another incident, of the following nature, that served to arouse them.

Lucius Verginius, a man of the people, had a daughter of surpassing beauty, whom he intended to bestow in marriage upon Lucius Icilius, a man of his own rank. For this maiden Claudius conceived a passion, and after failing otherwise to attain his ends he arranged with certain men to declare her a slave; he, meanwhile, was the judge. The father of the girl accordingly came from the camp and pleaded his case. When Claudius had given sentence against her and the girl was delivered to those who had declared her a slave, and no one came to her rescue, her father, wild with grief, took a cleaver and ended his daughter's life, then, just as he was, rushed out

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σεν. οὓς οὐδὲ πρὶν εὖ διακειμένους οὕτως ἐτάραξεν ὥστε εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐπειχθῆναι. καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαβίνους ἐστρατευμένοι, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' ἔμαθον, τό τε τάφρευμα ἐξέλιπον, καὶ συμμίξαντες τοῖς λοιποῖς ἄνδρας εἴκοσιν ἑαυτῶν προεστήσαντο, καὶ οὐδὲν μικρὸν ἐλογίζοντο πρᾶξαι. καὶ τὸ ἄλλο δὲ πλῆθος τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει προσεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐθορύβει.

Ἐν τούτοις ὁ μὲν Κλαύδιος φοβηθεὶς ἐκρύβη, Ὄππιος δὲ τήν τε βουλὴν ἤθροισε καὶ πέμψας ἐπύθετο τοῦ πλήθους τί βούλονται. οἱ δὲ τὸν Οὐαλλέριον Λούκιον καὶ τὸν Ὁράτιον Μάρκον, ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν αὐτοῖς προσκειμένους, πεμφθῆναι σφίσιν ἐζήτουν, ὥς τι δι' ἐκείνων ἀποκρινούμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέμφθησαν, φοβηθέντων τῶν δέκα ἀρχόντων (ἤδη γὰρ πάντες παρῆσαν) μὴ στρατηγοῖς αὐτοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν χρήσαιντο, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠργίζοντο. φόβος οὖν τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐνέπεσεν ἐντεῦθεν οὐ μέτριος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν ἀρχόντων τόν τε Οὐαλλέριον σφίσι καὶ τὸν Ὁράτιον ἔπεμψαν. κἀκ τούτου συναλλαγῆς γενομένης τοῖς μὲν θορυβήσασιν ἄδεια τῶν πραχθέντων ἐδόθη καὶ ἡ δεκαρχία κατελύθη, αἱ δὲ ἐπέτειοι ἀρχαὶ αἵ τε λοιπαὶ καὶ αἱ τῶν δημάρχων ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς προνομίοις ἐπανῆλθον ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἦσαν καὶ πρότερον. ἀποδειχθέντες δὲ ἄρχοντες ἄλλοι τε καὶ Οὐεργίνιος τὸν μὲν Ὄππιον τόν τε Κλαύδιον εἰς δεσμωτήριον ἐνέβαλον, οἳ πρὶν εὐθυνθῆναι ἑαυτοὺς διεχειρίσαντο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐγράψαντο καὶ ἑλόντες ἐξήλασαν.

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to the soldiers. The latter, who had previously been far from tractable, were so wrought up that they straightway set out in haste against the city to find Claudius. And the rest, who had gone on a campaign against the Sabines, abandoned their entrenchments when they learned this, and, joining with the others, set at their head twenty men, determined to accomplish something of importance. The remainder of the multitude in the city likewise joined their cause and added to the tumult.

Meanwhile Claudius, in terror, had hidden himself and Oppius had convened the senate; and sending to the populace, he inquired what they wished. They demanded that Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, two of the senators who favoured their cause, be sent to them, saying that through these men they would send some reply. Owing to the fear of the ten magistrates, who were now all on the spot, that the people would employ the two as generals against them, they were not sent, whereupon the populace grew still more angry. As a consequence, the senators were filled with no slight fear, and accordingly, even against the will of the magistrates, they sent Valerius and Horatius to the people. By this means a reconciliation was effected: the rioters were granted immunity for their acts, and the decemvirate was abolished; the annual magistracies, including that of the tribunes, were restored with the same privileges as they had formerly enjoyed. Verginius was one of the magistrates appointed; and they cast into prison Oppius and Claudius (who committed suicide before their cases were investigated), and indicted, convicted, and banished the remainder of the board.

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19. Οἱ δ' ὕπατοι (τότε γὰρ λέγεται πρῶτον ὑπάτους αὐτοὺς προσαγορευθῆναι, στρατηγοὺς καλουμένους τὸ πρότερον· ἦσαν δὲ Οὐαλλέριος καὶ Ὁράτιος) καὶ τότε καὶ μετέπειτα τῷ πλήθει προσέκειντο καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἐκράτυναν. ἐλαττούμενοι οὖν οἱ εὐπατρίδαι οὔτε ῥᾳδίον συνελέγοντο οὔτε τὰ πράγματα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐποίουν παντάπασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους οἰωνοσκοπίᾳ ἐν συλλόγοις χρῆσθαι δεδώκασιν· ὃ λόγῳ μὲν τιμὴν αὐτοῖς ἔφερε καὶ ἀξίωμα (μόνοις γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις ἐπετέτραπτο), ἔργῳ δὲ κώλυμα ἦν, ἵνα μὴ ῥᾳδίως οἱ δήμαρχοι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσα βούλοιντο πράττοιεν, ἀλλὰ προφάσει τῆς οἰωνοσκοπίας ἔστιν οὗ ἐμποδίζοιντο. ἀχθόμενοι δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις οἵ τε εὐπατρίδαι καὶ ἡ βουλή, ὡς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους φρονοῦσιν, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο σφίσι τὰ ἐπινίκια, πόλεμον ἑκατέρου νικήσαντος, οὐθ' ἡμέραν ἑκάστῳ ἀπένειμαν, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο. τὸ μέντοι πλῆθος ἐπὶ δύο τε ἡμέρας ἑώρτασε καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὰ νικητήρια ἐψηφίσαντο.

BOOK V

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19. Now the consuls (it is said that this is the first time they were styled consuls, having been previously called praetors; and they were Valerius and Horatius) both then and later favoured the populace and strengthened their cause rather than that of the patricians. The patricians, though defeated, would not readily convene or put matters entirely in the power of the consuls, but they permitted the tribunes also to take the auspices in the assemblies; nominally this was an honour and distinction for them, since from very ancient times this privilege had been accorded the patricians alone, yet in reality it was a hindrance. The nobles intended that the tribunes and the populace should not accomplish easily everything they pleased, but should sometimes be prevented under the pretext of the auspices. The patricians and the senate were both displeased at the consuls, whom they regarded as favourable to the popular cause, and so did not vote a triumph to them, though each had won a war, nor assign to each a day as had been the custom. The populace, however, both held a festival for two days and voted a triumph to the consuls. B.C. 449

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VI

Zonaras 7, 19.

Οὕτως οὖν ἐς διαφορὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλθόντων, οἱ ἐναντίοι σφίσιν ἀναθαρσήσαντες ἐπῄεσαν αὐτοῖς. τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει Μάρκου Γενουκίου καὶ Γαΐου Κουρτίου ὑπατευόντων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐτράποντο. οἵ τε γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ὑπατεύειν ἤθελον, ἐπείπερ ἐδημάρχουν οἱ εὐπατρίδαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεθιστάμενοι, καὶ οἱ εὐπατρίδαι λίαν τῆς ὑπάτου ἀρχῆς περιείχοντο. καὶ πολλὰ κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ βίαια ἔλεγόν τε καὶ ἔπραττον. ἵνα δὲ μὴ πρός τι χεῖρον χωρήσωσι, τοῦ μὲν ἔργου τῆς ἡγεμονίας οἱ δυνατοὶ αὐτοῖς παρεχώρησαν, τοῦ δὲ ὀνόματος οὐ μετέδωκαν, ἀλλ' ἀνθ' ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους ὠνόμασαν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ τῆς κλήσεως ἔντιμον τῷ σύρφακι ὁμίλῳ καταρρυπαίνοιτο. καὶ τρεῖς ἀφ' ἑκατέρων χιλιάρχους ἀντὶ τῶν δύο ὑπάτων αἱρεῖσθαι συνέδοξεν. οὐ μέντοι τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐξέλιπε τέλεον ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν ὕπατοι καθίσταντο, ποτὲ δέ γε χιλίαρχοι. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ταῦτα παραδέδοται γίνεσθαι, καίτοι οὐ μόνον τῶν ὑπάτων δικτάτορας ἀνειπόντων,

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When the Romans thus fell into discord, their adversaries took courage and came against them. And in the next year, when Marcus Genucius and Gaius Curtius were consuls, they turned against each other. For the popular leaders desired to be consuls, since the patricians were in the habit of becoming tribunes by transference to their order; but the patricians clung tenaciously to the consular office. And they indulged in many words and acts of violence against each other; so, in order to prevent the populace from proceeding to some greater extremity, the nobles yielded to them the substance of authority, though they did not let them share the name; in place of consuls they named them consular tribunes,[1] in order that the honour of the former title might not be sullied by contact with the vulgar throng. It was agreed that three consular tribunes should be chosen from each of the classes in place of the two consuls. However, the name of consul was not lost entirely, but sometimes consuls were appointed and at other times consular tribunes. This, at all events, is the tradition that has come down regarding what took place. Yet not only did the consuls nominate dictators, though

B.C. 445

[1] The Greek word is the same as that for "military tribunes"; but, in order to avoid ambiguity, the term "consular tribunes" will be adopted in what follows.

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καὶ ταῦτα πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἐλαττουμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χιλιάρχων τοῦτο πεποιηκότων ἐνίοτε· λέγεται δὲ ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν χιλιάρχων, καίτοι πολλῶν πολλάκις νικησάντων, ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψεν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν χιλίαρχοι οὕτω τότε ᾑρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ τιμηταὶ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει Βαρβάτου καὶ Μάρκου Μακρίνου ὑπατευόντων κατεδείχθησαν· καὶ ᾑρέθησαν Λούκιός τε Παπείριος καὶ Λούκιος Σεμπρώνιος. κεχειροτόνηντο δὲ ὅτι οἱ ὕπατοι ἀδύνατοι ἐπὶ πάντα[1] διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαρκεῖν ἦσαν. τὰ γὰρ τοῖς τιμηταῖς ἀπονεμηθέντα προνόμια ἐκεῖνοι μέχρι τότε ἐποίουν. δύο τε ἦσαν οἱ τιμηταὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν. ἦρχον δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπὶ πενταετίαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ χρόνῳ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἑξαμήνους· καὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν ὑπάτων μείζους, καίτοι μέρος τῆς ἐκείνων λαβόντες ἀρχῆς. ἐξῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς τάς τε προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐκμισθοῦν, καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς τῆς ἑκάστου εὐπορίας διατελεῖν, καὶ τὸν βίον τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπισκοπεῖν τε καὶ ἐξετάζειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀξίους ἐπαίνου ἐς τὰς φυλὰς καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐγγράφειν, καθὼς ἑκάστοις προσήκειν ἐνομίζετο, τοὺς δ' οὐκ εὖ βιοῦντας ἁπανταχόθεν ὁμοίως ἀπαλείφειν· ὃ μεῖζον πάντων ἦν τῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις καταλειφθέντων. πίστεις δ' ἐνόρκους ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ πεποίηντο ὡς οὔτε πρὸς χάριν οὔτε πρὸς ἔχθραν τι ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὀρθῆς γνώμης τὰ συμφέροντα

[1] πάντα Bs., πάντας Mss.

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themselves far inferior to these, but even the consular tribunes likewise did so sometimes. It is further said that none of those tribunes, though many of them won many victories, ever celebrated a triumph.

It was in this way, then, that consular tribunes came to be chosen at that time. Censors were appointed in the following year, during the consulship of Barbatus and Marcus Macerinus; those chosen were Lucius Papirius and Lucius Sempronius. The reason for their appointment was that the consuls were unable to attend to all their duties, on account of the vast number of these; for the duties now assigned to the censors had until that time been performed by the consuls. Two was the original number of the censors, and they were chosen from the patricians. They held office at first and at the last for five-year periods, but in between for a year and a half; and they came to be greater than the consuls, though they had taken over only a part of the authority of the latter. They had the right to let the public revenues, to supervise roads and public buildings, to make complete records of each man's wealth, and to note and investigate the lives of the citizens, enrolling those deserving of praise in the tribes, in the equestrian order, or in the senate, as seemed to fit the case of each one, and similarly erasing from any class the names of those whose lives were evil; this power was greater than any left to the consuls. They made declarations attested by oath, in regard to every one of their acts, that no such act was prompted by favour or by enmity, but that their deliberations and acts were B.C. 443

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τῷ κοινῷ καὶ σκοποῦσι καὶ πράττουσι. καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπί τε νόμων εἰσφοραῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνήθροιζον, καὶ τῷ τῶν μειζόνων ἀρχῶν κόσμῳ πλὴν ῥαβδούχων ἐχρῶντο. τοιαύτη ἡ τῶν τιμητῶν ὑπῆρχεν ἀρχή. τῶν μέντοι μὴ ἀπογραψαμένων τὰς οὐσίας ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς καὶ ἑαυτούς, τὰς μὲν οὐσίας οἱ τιμηταί, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐκείνους οἱ ὕπατοι ἐπίπρασκον. χρόνῳ μὲν οὖν τινι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη, ὕστερον δὲ τὸν ἅπαξ τῇ βουλῇ καταλεχθέντα διὰ βίου βουλεύειν ἔδοξε, μηδ' ἀπαλείφεσθαι, εἰ μή τις ἀδικήσας καὶ κριθεὶς ἠτίμωτο ἢ κακῶς ζῶν ἠλέγχθη· τοὺς γὰρ τοιούτους ἀπήλειφον καὶ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἑτέρους ἐνέγραφον.

Τῶν δὲ προσκαίρως ἀρχόντων πρεσβεῖα μὲν ἐδέδοτο τοῖς δικτάτορσι, δευτερεῖα δέ γε τοῖς τιμηταῖς, ἡ δὲ τρίτη τάξις τοῖς ἱππάρχοις νενέμητο· καὶ οὕτω ταῦτα ἐτέτακτο, κἂν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἦσαν κἂν ἀπηλλάγησαν. εἰ γάρ τις ἐκ μείζονος ἀρχῆς εἰς ὑποδεεστέραν κατέστη, τὸ τῆς προτέρας ἀξίωμα εἶχεν ἀκέραιον. εἷς δέ τις, ὃν πρίγκιπα μὲν τῆς γερουσίας ὠνόμαζον (λέγοιτο δ' ἂν καθ' Ἕλληνας πρόκριτος), συμπάντων προεῖχε τὸν χρόνον ὃν προεκρίνετο (οὐ γὰρ διὰ βίου τις ἐς τοῦτο προεχειρίζετο), καὶ προέφερε τῶν ἄλλων τῷ ἀξιώματι, οὐ μὴν καὶ δυνάμει ἐχρῆτό τινι.

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20. *Χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα εἰρήνην πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περιοίκους ἤγαγον· εἶτα λιμοῦ ἐπικρατήσαντος, ὥστε τινὰς καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἑαυ-*

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both the result of their unbiassed opinion of what was advantageous for the commonwealth. They convened the people when laws were to be introduced and for other purposes, and employed all the insignia of the greater offices save lictors. Such was the office of the censors. If any persons did not have their property and themselves registered in the census lists, the censors sold the property and the consuls the men. This arrangement held for a time, but later it was determined that a man once enrolled in the senate should be a senator for life, and that his name should not be erased, unless he had been convicted of some crime and been deprived of his citizenship, or had been shown to be leading an evil life; the names of such persons were erased and others entered in their stead.

Of the occasional magistrates dictators were given first rank, censors second, while masters of horse had third place. This same principle was followed, whether they were still in office or had retired; for if one descended from a higher office to a lower one, he still retained the rank of his former position undiminished. There was, however, one man, styled *princeps* of the senate (he would be called *prokritos* by the Greeks), who was superior to all for the time that he was thus honoured (a person was not chosen to this position for life) and surpassed the rest in rank, without, however, wielding any power.

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20. For a time they maintained peace with each other and with the neighbouring tribes; but then a famine overwhelmed them, so severe that some, unable to endure the pangs of hunger, threw themselves into B.C. 440

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τοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν μὴ φέροντας τὸν λιμόν, ἐστασίασαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς εὐπόρους ὡς περὶ τὸν σῖτον κακουργοῦντας ἐν αἰτίᾳ πεποίηντο, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πένητας ὡς τὴν γῆν μὴ βουλομένους ἐργάζεσθαι. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο Σπούριος Μάλλιος,[1] ἀνὴρ ἱππεὺς πλούσιος, τυραννίδι ἐπικεχείρηκε, καὶ σῖτον ἐκ τῆς περιχώρου πριάμενος πολλοῖς μὲν ἐπευωνίζων πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ προῖκα ἐδίδου, κἀκ τούτου συχνοὺς προσοικειωσάμενος, ὅπλα τε ἐπορίσατο καὶ φρουρούς· καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἂν τῆς πόλεως, εἰ μὴ Μινούκιος Αὐγουρῖνος, ἀνὴρ εὐπατρίδης, ἐπὶ τῇ σιτοδοσίᾳ τεταγμένος καὶ αἰτιώμενος ἐπὶ τῇ σιτοδείᾳ, εἰσήγγειλε τῇ βουλῇ τὸ πραττόμενον. ἡ δὲ γερουσία μαθοῦσα τὸ μήνυμα δικτάτορα παραυτίκα ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀνεῖπε τὸν Κυΐντιον τὸν Λούκιον τὸν Κικινάτον καὶ ταῦτα παρήλικα ὄντα· ὀγδοηκοντούτης γὰρ ἦν. κἀκεῖ τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν ἀνάλωσαν συγκαθήμενοι, ὥς τι δὴ βουλευόμενοι, ἵνα μὴ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκφοιτήσῃ. νυκτὸς δ' ὁ δικτάτωρ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα διὰ τῶν ἱππέων προκαταλαβών, ἕωθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μάλλιον ἔπεμψε Γάιον Σερουίλιον τὸν ἵππαρχον, ὡς δι' ἄλλο τι ἐκεῖνον μετακαλούμενος. ὁ δέ, ὑποτοπήσαντός τι τοῦ Μαλλίου καὶ διαμέλλοντος, δείσας μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἐξαρπασθῇ (ἤδη γὰρ συνέτρεχον), ἔκτεινε τὸν ἄνδρα, ἢ αὐτογνωμονήσας ἢ τοῦτο κεκελευσμένος πρὸς τοῦ δικτάτορος. θορυβηθέντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ Κυΐντιος δημηγορήσας καὶ σῖτον σφίσι παρασχὼν καὶ μή τινα ἕτερον ἢ κολάσας ἢ ἐπαιτιασάμενος τὸν θόρυβον ἔπαυσε.

[1] The name is similarly corrupted in the Mss. of Dionysius, Diodorus, and Plutarch.

BOOK VI

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the river, and they fell to quarrelling. The one class charged the prosperous with unfairness in the handling of the grain, and the other class charged the poor men with unwillingness to till the soil. Spurius Maelius, a wealthy knight, observing this, B.C. 439
attempted to set up a tyranny, and buying corn from the neighbouring region he lowered the price of it for many and gave it free to many others. In this way he won the friendship of a great many, and procured arms and a bodyguard. And he would have gained control of the city, had not Minucius Augurinus, a patrician, appointed to have charge of the grain-distribution and censured for the dearth of grain, reported the proceeding to the senate. That body, on receiving the information, nominated at once and at that very meeting Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, though past his prime,—he was eighty years old,—to be dictator. But they spent the whole day sitting there, as if engaged in some discussion, to prevent news of their action from getting abroad. At night the dictator made the knights occupy the Capitol and the remaining points of vantage, and then at dawn he sent Gaius Servilius, master of the horse, to Maelius pretending to summon him for some other purpose. But as Maelius suspected something and delayed, Servilius, fearing that he might be rescued by the populace, who were already running together, killed the man, either on his own responsibility or because ordered to do so by the dictator. At this the populace broke into a riot, but Quinctius addressed them and by providing them with grain and refraining from punishing or accusing any one else he stopped the riot.

24, 1 Ὅτι πρὸς Φαλίσκους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰς μάχας μαχεσάμενοι καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παθόντες καὶ δράσαντες, τῶν μὲν πατρίων ἱερῶν ὠλιγώρησαν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ξενικὰ ὡς καὶ ἐπαρκέσοντά σφισιν ὥρμησαν. φιλεῖ γάρ πως τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς τοῦ μὲν συνήθους, κἂν θεῖον ᾖ, καταφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπείρατον θαυμάζειν. παρ' ἐκείνου μὲν γὰρ ἅτε μηδὲν ἐς τὸ παρὸν ὠφελεῖσθαι νομίζοντες οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα χρηστὸν οὐδὲν προσδέχονται, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ξένου πᾶν ὅσον ἂν[1] ἐθελήσωσιν ὑπὸ τῆς καινοτομίας ἐλπίζουσιν.—M. 43 (p. 153).

23, 4 Ἐς γὰρ τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας κἀκ τούτου καὶ φιλονεικίας ἀλλήλοις ἀφίκοντο, ὥστε μηκέτι καθ' ἓν πάντας, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἄρχειν, ἀφ' οὗ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἐγίγνετο· τό τε γὰρ οἰκεῖον, οὐ τὸ κοινὸν ἑκάστου αὐτῶν σκοποῦντος, καὶ βλαβῆναί πῃ τὸ δημόσιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν συνάρχοντα εὐδοκιμῆσαι ἐθέλοντος, πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ συνέβαινεν.—M. 44 (p. 153).

5 Ὅτι δημοκρατία ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ πάντας τῶν αὐτῶν ἁπλῶς τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τὰ[2] κατ' ἀξίαν ἕκαστον φέρεσθαι.—M. 45 (p. 154).

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Πολέμων δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ διαφόρων ἐθνῶν ἐπενηνεγμένων, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐνίκησαν, τοῖς δὲ Τυρσηνοῖς ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐπολέμησαν,

[1] ἂν St., οὖν Ms. [2] τὰ added by Bk.

BOOK VI

The Romans, after meeting with many reverses as well as successes in the course of the numerous battles they fought with the Faliscans,[1] came to despise their ancestral rites and turned eagerly to foreign ones with the idea that these would help them. Human nature is for some reason accustomed in trouble to scorn what is familiar, even though it be divine, and to admire the untried. For, believing that they are not helped by the former in their present difficulty, men expect no benefit from it in the future either; but from what is strange they hope to accomplish whatever they may desire, by reason of its novelty. B.C. 428?

For they [the consular tribunes] reached such a pitch of emulation and next of jealous rivalry with one another that they no longer all held office as one body, as had been the custom, but each of them individually in turn; and the consequence was by no means beneficial. Since each one of them had in view his own profit, and not the public weal, and was more willing that the state should be injured, if it so happened, than that his colleagues should obtain credit, many unfortunate occurrences took place. B.C. 418

Democracy consists not in all winning absolutely the same prizes, but in every man obtaining his deserts.

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Wars were now waged against them by various nations, in some of which the Romans were victorious within a few days; but with the Etruscans they waged a long-continued contest. Postumius had B.C. 414

[1] Faliscans may be an error for Fidenates or Veientes (cf. Livy 4, 32); but Boissevain believes we may retain the reading of the Ms. and refer this statement to the year 428 (cf. Livy 4, 30, 9).

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Ποστουμίου δὲ νενικηκότος τοὺς Αἰκουοὺς καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν ἑλόντος αὐτῶν, ὅτι μήτ' ἐκείνην οἱ στρατιῶται εἰς προνομὴν ἐξεχωρήθησαν μήτε τι τῆς λείας αἰτήσαντες ἔλαβον, τόν τε ταμίαν τὸν διατιθέμενον αὐτὴν περιστάντες ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ τὸν Ποστούμιον ἐπιτιμῶντα αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ζητοῦντα τοὺς αὐτόχειρας προσαπέκτειναν, καὶ τὴν χώραν οὐ τὴν αἰχμάλωτον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν προσένειμαν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τότε τυγχάνουσαν. κἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡ στάσις διήρκεσεν, εἰ μὴ πόλεμος αὖθις Ῥωμαίοις παρὰ τῶν Αἰκουῶν ἐπενήνεκτο. φοβηθέντες γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἡσύχασαν, καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τῶν φόνων εἰς ὀλίγους ἐλθοῦσαν ὑπέμειναν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους στρατεύσαντες μάχῃ αὐτοὺς νενικήκασι. διὸ τήν τε λείαν αὐτοῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ διέδοσαν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς πεζοῖς, εἶτα καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐψηφίσαντο· ἀμισθὶ γὰρ μέχρι τότε καὶ οἰκόσιτοι ἐστρατεύοντο· τότε δὲ πρῶτον μισθοφορεῖν ἤρξαντο.

Πολέμου δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς Οὐιέντας συστάντος, ἕως μὲν κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπολέμουν ἐκεῖνοι, πολλάκις αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνίκησαν, καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν· προσγενομένων δὲ αὐτοῖς συμμάχων ἐπεξῆλθον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἐπεκράτησαν. ἐν τούτοις δὲ ἡ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ἀλβανῷ οὖσα λίμνη, ὑπὸ τῶν πέριξ αὐτῆς περικλειομένη λόφων καὶ μὴ ἔχουσα ἐκροήν, κατὰ τὸν τῆς πολιορκίας τῶν Οὐιεντῶν καιρὸν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐπλήμμυρεν, ὡς ὑπερεκχεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ κατιέναι πρὸς θάλασσαν, κρίναντες δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντως τι

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conquered the Aequi and captured a large city of theirs, but the soldiers neither had had it turned over to them for pillage nor were awarded a share of the plunder when they requested it. Therefore they surrounded and slew the quaestor who was disposing of it, and when Postumius reprimanded them for this and strove to find the assassins, they killed him also. And they assigned to their own use not only the captive territory but all that at the time happened to belong to the public treasury. The uprising would have lasted a very long time but for the fact that war against the Romans was renewed by the Aequi. Alarmed by this situation, they became quiet, endured the punishment for the murders, which touched only a few, and took the field against their opponents, whom they engaged and conquered. For this achievement the nobles distributed the plunder among them, and voted pay B.C. 406
first to the infantry and later also to the cavalry. Up to that time they were used to undertaking campaigns without pay and lived at their own expense; now for the first time they began to draw pay.

In a war which arose with the Veientes the Romans won frequent victories and reduced the foe to a state of siege so long as the latter fought merely with their own contingent; but when allies had been added to their force, they came out against the Romans and defeated them. Meanwhile the lake B.C. 398
situated close to the Alban Mount, which was shut in by the surrounding hills and had no outlet, overflowed its banks during the siege of Veii to such an extent that it actually poured over the crests of the hills and went rushing down to the sea. The Romans, judging that something supernatural was

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διὰ τούτου θεῖον σημαίνεσθαι, ἔπεμψαν εἰς Δελφοὺς περὶ τούτου χρησόμενοι. ἦν δέ τις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Οὐιένταις Τυρσηνὸς ἀνὴρ μαντικός. ἐς ταὐτὸν οὖν ἥ τε Πυθία καὶ ἡ ἐκείνου μαντεία συνέδραμον· καὶ ἄμφω γὰρ ἁλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν εἶπον ὅταν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ πλημμυρῆσαν μὴ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐμπέσῃ, ἀλλ' ἀναλωθείη ἑτέρωθι, καί τινας ἱερουργίας διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πύθιος οὔτε τίσι θεῶν οὔθ' ὅπως αὐτὰς ποιήσουσι διεσάφησεν, ὁ δὲ Τυρσηνὸς ἐῴκει μὲν εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δὲ ἐδήλου. οἱ γοῦν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος ὡμίλει, τεταγμένοι Ῥωμαῖοι, φιλίαν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὑποκριθέντες, τά τε ἄλλα θαρρεῖν αὐτῷ ἐνεδίδουν καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐπέτρεπον ἐκφοιτᾶν· καὶ οὕτω συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα ἠνάγκασαν ἐξειπεῖν. καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην ἐκείνου τάς τε θυσίας ἐποίησαν καὶ τὸν λόφον διέτρησαν καὶ τὸ πλεονάζον ὕδωρ εἰς τὸ πεδίον κρυπτῇ διώρυχι μετωχέτευσαν, ὥσθ' ἅπαν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναλίσκεσθαι καὶ μή τι καταρρέειν εἰς θάλασσαν.

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21. Ἄρτι μὲν οὖν τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ δικτάτωρ ᾑρέθη Μάρκος Φούριος Κάμιλλος. ὃς προσβαλὼν τῇ πόλει, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἥνυεν, ὑπόγειον ὠρύξατο δίοδον πόρρωθεν ἀρξάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν φέρουσαν. παρεσκευασμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ ὑπονόμου, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν ἐθελονταί, παραλαβὼν κἀκείνους προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ τεῖχος ἐκύκλωσε· τῶν

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surely signified by this event, sent to Delphi to consult the oracle about the matter. There was also among the inhabitants of Veii an Etruscan soothsayer whose prophecy coincided with that of the Pythia. Both declared that the city would be captured when the overflowing water should not fall into the sea, but should be used up elsewhere; and they also ordered sacrifices to be performed because of the occurrence. But the Pythian god did not specify to which of the divinities nor in what way these should be performed, while the Etruscan appeared to have the knowledge but would explain nothing. So the Romans who were stationed about the wall from which he was wont to converse with them pretended friendliness toward him, encouraged him to feel thoroughly at ease, and allowed him to walk abroad in security. Thus they succeeded in seizing him and forced him to give all the requisite information. And in accordance with his advice they offered sacrifices, tunnelled the hill, and conducted the superfluous water by an underground channel into the plain, so that all of it was used up there and none ran down into the sea.

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21. As soon as this had been accomplished, Marcus Furius Camillus was chosen dictator. He attacked the city [Veii], but, meeting with no success, began at a point remote from the walls and constructed a tunnel leading to the citadel. When at length the mine was completed, and many volunteers had joined him, coming even from Rome, he attacked the city with his combined forces and surrounded the wall on all sides; and while the inhabitants were scattered B.C. 396

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δ' ἐντὸς περὶ πάντα τὸν περίβολον σκεδασθέντων, ... τὴν δὲ τῆς λείας δεκάτην ἐξελὼν ἀκόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνέθετο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, εὐχὴν τοῦτο πρὶν ποιησάμενος. ἀνέθετο δὲ καὶ κρατῆρα χρυσοῦν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμου πεποιημένον· ἀνθ' οὗ τιμὴ αὐταῖς παραχρῆμα ἐψήφιστο· ἡ δὲ ἦν τὸ ἐπ' ὀχημάτων αὐτὰς ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις φοιτᾶν, αὐτοποδίᾳ βαδιζούσαις πρότερον ἐς αὐτάς. τῷ δὲ Καμίλλῳ προσώχθισεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἐνεμέσησε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν λαφύρων οὐκ ἐν τῷ διαρπάζεσθαι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καιροῦ παρελθόντος ἐξείλετο τῷ θεῷ, τὸ δ' ὅτι [τά τε ἄλλα σοβαρῶς ἐθριάμβευσε καὶ Plut., *Camill.* 7] *πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων λευκῷ τεθρίππῳ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψεν.*

Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐπινικίων πομπή, ἣν καὶ θρίαμβον ἐκάλουν, τοιάδε τις ἐγίνετο. ὅτε τι κατωρθώθη μέγα καὶ ἐπινικίων ἐπάξιον, αὐτοκράτωρ αὐτίκα ὁ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὠνομάζετο, καὶ κλῶνας δάφνης περιέδει ταῖς ῥάβδοις καὶ τοῖς δρομοκήρυξι τοῖς τὴν νίκην καταγγέλλουσι τῇ πόλει κομίζειν ἐδίδου. ἐλθὼν δὲ οἴκαδε τὴν γερουσίαν συνήθροιζε καὶ ᾔτει ψηφίσασθαί οἱ τὰ ἐπινίκια. καὶ εἰ ἔτυχε ψήφου παρά τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ἐβεβαιοῦτο αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἐπωνυμία τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἦν ἔτι, ἐν ᾗ τυγχάνων ἐνίκησε, ταύτῃ καὶ πανηγυρίζων ἐκέχρητο, εἰ δ' ὁ χρόνος παρεληλύθε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἄλλο τι πρόσφορον αὐτῇ ἐλάμβανεν ὄνομα· ἰδιώτῃ γὰρ νικητήρια πέμψαι ἀπείρητο.

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along its entire circuit [other troops secretly got inside through the tunnel. And when the city had been captured, etc.], setting aside the tenth of the booty, against the will of the soldiers, he offered it to Apollo, in accordance with a vow he had previously made. He also offered a golden mixing-bowl, fashioned out of the women's jewellery. In return for this an immediate honour was decreed them; this consisted in their riding to the festivals in carriages in place of going on foot, as hitherto. Now the people became indignant and angry at Camillus, partly because he had set aside the tenth of the booty for the god, not at the time of its capture, but after a considerable interval, and partly because he [not only celebrated his triumph with great magnificence generally, but] was the first Roman to parade with a team of four white horses.

Now the celebration of the triumph was somewhat as follows. When any great success, worthy of a triumph, had been gained, the general was immediately saluted as *imperator* by the soldiers, and he would bind sprigs of laurel upon the fasces and deliver them to the messengers who announced the victory to the city. On arriving home he would assemble the senate and ask to have the triumph voted him. And if he obtained a vote from the senate and from the people, his title of *imperator* was confirmed. If he still occupied the office which he had held when he won his victory, he continued to hold it while celebrating the festival; but if his term of office had expired, he received some other title appropriate to the office, since it was forbidden a private individual to hold a triumph. Arrayed in

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ἐνσκευασάμενος δὲ τῇ ἐπινικίῳ σκευῇ, καὶ περιβραχιόνια λαβών, στέφανόν τε δάφνης ἀναδησάμενος καὶ κλάδον κρατῶν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, τὸν δῆμον συνεκάλει· καὶ ἐπαινέσας τοὺς συστρατευσαμένους αὐτῷ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τινάς, ἐδωρεῖτο μὲν σφίσι χρήματα, ἐτίμα δὲ καὶ κόσμῳ, περιβραχιόνιά τέ τισι καὶ δόρατα ἀσίδηρα παρεῖχε, καὶ στεφάνους τοῖς μὲν χρυσοῦς, τοῖς δὲ ἀργυροῦς ἐδίδου, τοὔνομά τε ἑκάστου καὶ τῆς ἀριστείας φέροντας τὸ ἐκτύπωμα. εἰ γὰρ τείχους τις πρῶτος ἐπέβη, καὶ τείχους ὁ στέφανος εἶδος ἔφερεν· ἢ

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

Εἰς δίφρον τὸν θριαμβονίκην ἀναβιβάσαντες σινωπιδίῳ ἢ κινναβάρει τὸ πρόσωπον ἀντὶ αἵματος, ὡς μὴ ἐρυθριᾷ, περιχρίουσι καὶ βραχιονιστῆρας. ἐμβάλλουσι ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ δάφνινον στέμμα καὶ δάφνης κλῶνα διδοῦσι τῇ δεξιᾷ. περιτιθέασι δὲ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον ἐξ ὕλης ὁποίας, ἀνάγραπτα φέροντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἢ ἐπεπόνθει.

Tzetzes, Chil. 13, 43–50.

Τὸν θριαμβεύοντα χρίσαντες κινναβάρει | ἢ καὶ σινωπιδίῳ δὲ ἐφ' ἅρματος ἱστῶσι | καὶ στέφανον δὲ χρύσεον τῇ κεφαλῇ τιθοῦσιν, | ὁπόσα κατειργάσατο φέροντα τυπωθέντα, | καὶ τῇ χειρὶ διδόασιν δάφνινον τούτῳ κλάδον, | καὶ βραχιονιστῆρας δὲ ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐκείνῳ, | καὶ πάντας ἀριστεύσαντας στεφάνοις στεφανοῦσιν, | ἐξ ἀργυρᾶς τῆς ὕλης μὲν γραπτοῖς ταῖς ἀριστείαις.

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the triumphal dress and wearing armlets, with a laurel crown upon his head, and holding a branch in his right hand, he called together the people. After praising collectively the troops who had served with him, and some of them individually, he presented them with money and honoured them also with decorations. Upon some he bestowed armlets and spears without the iron; to others he gave crowns, sometimes of gold, sometimes of silver, bearing the name of each man and the representation of his particular feat. For example, if a man had been first to mount a wall, the crown bore the figure of a wall;

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

They cause the celebrator of the triumph to mount a car, smear his face with earth of Sinope or cinnabar (representing blood), to screen his blushes, clasp armlets on his arms, and put a laurel wreath and a branch of laurel in his right hand. Upon his head they also place a crown of some kind of material, having inscribed upon it his exploits or his experiences.

Tzetzes, Chil. 13, 43–50.

After anointing with cinnabar or else Sinopian earth the man who celebrates a triumph, they place him in a chariot and set upon his head a golden crown showing clearly portrayed all his conquests, and in his hand they place a branch of laurel, and they clasp armlets about his arms. They likewise crown all who have gained distinction with crowns made out of silver material and inscribed with their feats of valour.

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καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησέ τι, καὶ τοῦτο κἀκεῖνο εἰκόνιστο. ἐναυκράτησέ τις, ναυσὶν ὁ στέφανος ἐκεκόσμητο· ἱπποκράτησέ τις, ἱππικόν τι ἐξετετύπωτο. ὁ δὲ πολίτην τινὰ ἐκ μάχης ἢ ἑτέρου κινδύνου ἢ ἐκ πολιορκίας σώσας μέγιστόν τε εἶχε τὸν ἔπαινον καὶ ἐλάμβανε στέφανον γινόμενον ἐκ δρυός, ὃς πολὺ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἀργυρῶν καὶ τῶν χρυσῶν ὡς ἐντιμότερος προτετίμητο. καὶ οὐ κατ' ἄνδρα μόνον ἀριστεύσαντα ταῦτα ἐδίδοτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόχοις καὶ στρατοπέδοις ὅλοις παρείχετο. καὶ τῶν λαφύρων πολλὰ μὲν τοῖς στρατευσαμένοις διανενέμητο· ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ διέδοσαν καὶ ἐδαπάνων εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ ἐδημοσίευον, καὶ εἴ τι περιελέλειπτο, εἰς ναούς, εἰς στοὰς ἢ καί τι ἕτερον δημόσιον ἔργον ἀνήλισκον.

Ταῦθ' ὁ πομπεὺς ποιήσας εἰς τὸ ἅρμα ἀνέβαινε. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἅρμα οὔτ' ἀγωνιστηρίῳ οὔτε πολεμιστηρίῳ ἦν ἐμφερές, ἀλλ' ἐς πύργου περιφεροῦς τρόπον ἐξείργαστο. καὶ οὐ μόνος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἅρματι, ἀλλ' ἄν γε καὶ παῖδας ἢ καὶ συγγενεῖς τινας εἶχε, κἀκείνων τὰς μὲν κόρας καὶ τὰ ἄρρενα τὰ νεογνὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνεβίβαζε, τοὺς δὲ ἁδροτέρους ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους τούς τε ζυγίους καὶ τοὺς σειραφόρους ἀνετίθετο· εἰ δὲ πλείους ἦσαν, ἐπὶ κελήτων τῷ πομπεῖ παριππεύοντες συνεπόμπευον· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ὠχεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐστεμμένοι δάφνῃ

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or if he had also captured some point by storm, both of the feats were depicted. A man might have won a battle at sea, in which case the crown was adorned with ships, or he might have won a cavalry fight and some equestrian figure was represented. He who had rescued a citizen from battle or other peril, or from a siege, had the greatest praise and would receive a crown fashioned of oak, which was esteemed as far more honourable than all the other crowns, whether of silver or of gold. And these rewards were not only given to men singly, as the result of individual deeds of prowess, but were also bestowed upon whole companies and armies. A large part of the spoils also was assigned to the soldiers who had taken part in the campaign; but some victors have distributed the spoils even among the entire populace and have devoted them towards the expenses of the festival or turned them over to the treasury; if anything was left over, they would spend it for temples, porticos or some other public work.

After these ceremonies the triumphant general would mount his chariot. Now this chariot did not resemble one used in games or in war, but was fashioned in the shape of a round tower. And he would not be alone in the chariot, but if he had children or relatives, he would make the girls and the infant male children get up beside him in it and place the older ones upon the horses—outriggers as well as the yoke-pair; if there were many of them, they would accompany the procession on chargers, riding along beside the victor. None of the rest rode, but all went on foot wearing laurel

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πάντες ἐβάδιζον. οἰκέτης μέντοι δημόσιος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παρωχεῖτο τοῦ ἅρματος, τὸν στέφανον τὸν τῶν λίθων τῶν χρυσοδέτων ὑπερανέχων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν, "ὀπίσω βλέπε," τὸ κατόπιν δηλαδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς προσκόπει τοῦ βίου, μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐπαρθῇς καὶ ὑπερφρονήσῃς. καὶ κώδων ἀπήρτητο καὶ μάστιξ τοῦ ἅρματος, ἐνδεικτικὰ τοῦ καὶ δυστυχῆσαι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι, ὥστε καὶ αἰκισθῆναι ἢ καὶ δικαιωθῆναι θανεῖν. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπί τινι ἀτοπήματι καταδικασθέντας θανεῖν νενόμιστο κωδωνοφορεῖν, ἵνα μηδεὶς βαδίζουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγχριμπτόμενος μιάσματος ἀναπίμπληται. οὕτω δὲ σταλέντες εἰσῄεσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἔχοντες προπεμπόμενα[1] σφῶν τὰ σκῦλά τε καὶ τὰ τρόπαια, καὶ ἐν εἰκόσι τά τε αἰχμάλωτα φρούρια ἠσκημένα, πόλεις τε καὶ ὄρη καὶ ποταμούς, λίμνας, θαλάσσας, τά τε σύμπαντα ὅσα ἑαλώκεσαν. καὶ εἰ μὲν μία ἡμέρα ἦν ἐξαρκοῦσα πρὸς τὴν τούτων πομπήν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ καὶ τρίτῃ ἐπέμπετο. προδιελθόντων δ' ἐκείνων οὕτως ὁ πομπεὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίαν κομισθεὶς ἀγοράν, καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς εἰς τὸ δεσμω-

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

Οἰκέτης δὲ δημόσιος τοῦ ἅρματος ἑστὼς ὄπισθεν ἀνέχει τὸν στέφανον, λέγων ἐκείνῳ πρὸς οὖς· "βλέπε καὶ τὸ κατόπιν." κώδωνες δὲ καὶ μάστιξ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τοῦ ἅρματος ἀπῃώρηνται.

Tzetzes, Chil. 13, 51–53.

Καὶ πῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος δημόσιος οἰκέτης | ὄπισθεν τούτου ἵσταται τὸν στέφανον ἀνέχων | καὶ λέγων τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ οὖς· "καὶ τὸ κατόπιν βλέπε."

[1] προπεμπόμενα Bs., προπέμποντα Mss.

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wreaths. A public slave, however, rode with the victor in the chariot itself, holding over him the crown of precious stones set in gold, and kept saying to him, "Look behind!" that is, "Look at what comes after—at the ensuing years of life—and do not be elated or puffed up by your present fortune." Both a bell and a whip were fastened to the chariot, signifying that it was possible for him to meet with misfortune also, to the extent even of being scourged or condemned to death. For it was customary for those who had been condemned to die for any crime to wear a bell, to the end that no one should approach them as they walked along and so be contaminated. Thus arrayed, they entered the city, having at the head of the procession the spoils and trophies and figures representing the captured forts, cities, mountains, rivers, lakes, and seas—everything, in fact, that they had taken. If one day did not suffice for the exhibition of these things in procession, the celebration was held during a second and a third day. When these adjuncts had gone on their way, the victorious general arrived at the Roman Forum, and after commanding that some of

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

A public slave, standing in the back part of the chariot, holds up the crown, saying in his ear: "See also what comes after." Bells and a whip dangle from the yoke of the chariot.

Tzetzes, Chil. 13, 51–53.

In the chariot a public slave stands behind him holding up the crown and saying in his ear: "See also what comes after."

24, 2 Ὅτι τὴν τῶν Φαλίσκων πόλιν πολιορκοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταύτῃ προσκαθήμενοι διετρίβησαν, εἰ μὴ τοιόνδε τι ἐγένετο. γραμματιστής τις ἐν αὐτῇ παῖδας οὔτ' ὀλίγους οὔτ' ἀφανεῖς παιδεύων, εἶθ'[1] ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἢ καὶ κέρδους ἐλπίδι πάντας σφᾶς ἔξω τε τοῦ τείχους ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἐξήγαγεν (τοσοῦτον γάρ που τῆς ἀδείας αὐτοῖς περιῆν ὥστε καὶ τότε συμφοιτᾶν) καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλλον ἐκό-

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τήριον ἀπαχθῆναι καὶ θανατωθῆναι κελεύσας, ἀνήλαυνεν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καί τινας ἐκεῖ τελετὰς πληρώσας καὶ προσαγαγὼν ἀναθήματα, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς ἐκεῖ δειπνήσας στοαῖς, πρὸς ἑσπέραν οἴκαδε μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ συρίγγων ἀπήρχετο. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἦσαν πάλαι τὰ νικητήρια· αἱ δὲ στάσεις αἵ τε δυναστεῖαι πλεῖστα ἐνεωτέρισαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

Zonaras' account of the siege of Falerii (7, 22), based on Plutarch, contains the following fragments from Dio: εἰ δὲ καί, ὡς ἤδη ἱστόρηται, ὁ δῆμος ἐμίσει τὸν Κάμιλλον, . . . καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐνίκησαν μαχεσάμενοι . . . οὐδὲν ἤνυον . . . κἂν ἀπέστησαν τῆς πολιορκίας εἰ μή τι συμβέβηκε . . . ἢ δι' ὀργήν τινα ἢ κέρδους ἐλπίδι . . . πᾶσαν

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

Εἶτα τρὶς κυκλῶν τὸν τόπον περιτρέχει καὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς ἐπὶ γόνασιν ἀνέρπει καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ἐκεῖ ἀποτίθεται. εἶτα μετὰ θυμελικῶν οἴκαδε ἀπέρχεται.

[1] εἶθ' Reim., ἔπειθ' Ms.

The Romans, who were besieging the city of the Faliscans, would have consumed much time encamped before it had not an incident of the following nature occurred. A school teacher of the place who instructed a number of children of good family, either under the influence of anger or through hope of gain, led them all outside the wall, ostensibly for some different purpose from his real one. For they had liberty enough left in any case so that the children were still attending school. And he led B.C. 394

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the captives be led to prison and put to death, he rode up to the Capitol. There he performed certain rites and made offerings and dined in the porticos up there, after which he departed homeward toward evening, accompanied by flutes and pipes. Such were the triumphs in olden times; but factions and powerful cliques effected many changes in them.

And even though the people did hate Camillus, as already related, . . . And they [the Romans] prevailed over them [the Faliscans] in battle . . . [The Romans] were making no progress [in the siege] . . . They would even have given up the siege but for a certain occurrence . . . Either out of anger or through hope of gain . . . He [the schoolmaster]

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

Next he runs thrice about the place in a circle, mounts the stairs on his knees, and there lays aside the garlands. After that he departs home, accompanied by musicians.

μισε, πᾶσάν οἱ τὴν πόλιν δι' αὐτῶν παραδιδόναι λέγων· οὐ γὰρ περιοίσειν ἔτι τοὺς ἔνδον, τῶν
3 φιλτάτων σφίσι ἐχομένων. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπέρανέ τι· ὁ γὰρ Κάμιλλος τῆς τε ἀρετῆς ἅμα τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμπτωμάτων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐνθυμηθεὶς οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἐκ προδοσίας αὐτοὺς ἑλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὼ χεῖρε ἐς τοὐπίσω τοῦ προδότου δήσας παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς τοῖς παισὶν[1] ἀπαγαγεῖν οἴκαδε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου οἱ Φαλίσκοι οὐκέτ' ἀντέσχον, ἀλλὰ καίτοι καὶ δυσάλωτοι ὄντες καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας τὸν πόλεμον διαφέροντες, ὅμως ἐθελονταὶ ὡμολόγησαν αὐτῷ, θαυμαστήν τινα φιλίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ προσδοκήσαντες ἕξειν, οὗγε καὶ πολεμίου οὕτω δικαίου ἐπεπείραντο.—V. 11 (p. 578).

4 Ὁ οὖν Κάμιλλος ἐπιφθονώτερος ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ τούτων τοῖς πολίταις γενόμενος, ἐγράφη τε ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῆς τῶν Οὐηίων[2] τὸ δημόσιον ὠφελήσας, καὶ ἑκουσίως πρὸ τῆς δίκης ὑπεξέσχεν.—V. 12 (p. 578) = Suid. *s.v.* ὑπεξέσχεν.

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εἶπε παραδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῶν παίδων . . . φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐθελονταὶ τῷ Καμίλλῳ παρέδοσαν . . . φθονηθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ πλέον κατηγορήθη ὡς μηδὲν τὸ δημόσιον ἐκ τῶν Τυρρηνικῶν ὠφε-

[1] After παισὶν the Ms. has ὀπισθόχειρα, deleted by Rk.
[2] Οὐηίων Bk., βιεων Ms.

them to Camillus, saying that in their persons he surrendered to him the whole city; for the inhabitants would no longer hold out when those dearest to them were held prisoners. However, he failed to accomplish anything; for Camillus, mindful of Roman valour and likewise of the vicissitudes in human affairs, would not agree to take them by treachery. Instead, he bound the traitor's hands behind his back and delivered him to the children themselves to lead home again. After this episode the Faliscans held out no longer, but in spite of the fact that they were securely entrenched and had ample resources to continue the war, they nevertheless made terms with him voluntarily. They were confident they should enjoy a remarkable friendship with one, whom, even as an enemy, they had found so just.

Accordingly, Camillus became on this account an object of even greater jealousy to the citizens, and he was indicted by the tribunes on the charge of not having benefited the public treasury with the plunder of Veii; but before the trial he voluntarily withdrew. B.C. 391

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declared that in the persons of the boys he surrendered to him the whole city . . . They came forth voluntarily and surrendered themselves to Camillus . . . As the result of increasing envy the charge was brought against Camillus that he had

6 *Οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ τὸ πλῆθος μόνον, οὐδ' ὅσοι φιλοτιμίαν τινὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτοῦ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνυ φίλοι συγγενεῖς τε αὐτῷ ὄντες ἐβάσκαινον ὥστε μηδ' ἀποκρύπτεσθαι· δεομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν μὲν καὶ συναγωνίσασθαί οἱ, τῶν δὲ τήν γε ἀπολύουσαν θέσθαι,*[1] . . . *ἁλόντι δ' αὐτῷ χρημάτων τε τιμήσειν καὶ τὴν καταδίκην συνεκτίσειν ὑπέσχοντο. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὐχήν τε ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐποιήσατο χρείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν σχεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥουτούλους πρὶν κατηγορηθῆναι*[2] *μετέστη.*—M. 46 (p. 154).

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λήσας χρημάτων, αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ τούτων σφετερισάμενος. οὕτω δὲ ὠργίζοντο κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς μηδ' οἶκτον αὐτοῦ τινα λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ συμβάσῃ αὐτῷ συμφορᾷ· τέθνηκε γὰρ αὐτοῦ νοσήσας ὁ ἕτερος τῶν υἱῶν . . . πρὸς Ῥουτούλους μετέστη.

[1] Lacuna after *θέσθαι* recognised by Bk.

[2] *κατηγορηθῆναι* is perhaps a mistake on the part of the excerptor for *καταδικασθῆναι*.

To such a degree did not only the populace and all those who were somewhat jealous of his reputation but even his best friends and his relatives feel envy toward him that they did not even attempt to hide it. When he asked some of them to support his cause and others to vote for his acquittal, [they refused to assist him with their vote,] but promised, in case he were convicted, to impose a fine and to help him pay it. As a result of this he prayed in his anger that the city might come to have need of him; and he went over to the Rutuli before accusation was brought against him.[1]

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not enriched the treasury at all with the Etruscan wealth, but had appropriated some of it himself. And they were so enraged against him that none showed pity for him in the calamity that befell him; for one of his sons fell sick and died . . . He betook himself to the Rutuli.

[1] This seems a strange statement, but may possibly mean before his trial took place. Otherwise πρὶν καταδικασθῆναι ("before sentence was passed upon him") would seem to be the proper reading.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VII

25 Ὅτι τῆς στρατείας τῶν Γαλατῶν αἰτία αὕτη ἐγένετο. οἱ Κλουσῖνοι πολέμῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακωθέντες πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κετέφυγον, ἐλπίδα οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἔχοντες, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς Οὐηιένταις[1] καίπερ ὁμοφύλοις οὖσιν οὐ συνήραντο, πάντως τινὰ ὠφελίαν παρ' αὐτῶν εὑρήσεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο, πρέσβεις δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας πέμψαντες εἰρήνην
2 αὐτοῖς ἔπραττον, ταύτην παρὰ μικρόν (ἐπὶ γὰρ μέρει τῆς χώρας προετείνετό σφισιν) ἐποιήσαντο, συμπεσόντες[2] δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐς μάχην τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις προσπαρέλαβον. οἱ οὖν Γαλάται χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντιτάξει αὐτῶν ἐνεγκόντες, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνταπέστειλάν τινας ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, αἰτιώμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις· εἶτ' ἐπειδὴ μήτε τι-

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(1) οἱ δ' Εὐρωπαῖοι Γαλάται, ὧν οἱ Ἀσιᾶται νομίζονται ἄποικοι . . .

(2) ἐν τούτοις δὲ λοχήσαντες οἱ Κλουσῖνοι μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης πρέσβεων ἐπέθεντο τοῖς Γαλάταις.

[1] Οὐηιένταις Bk., βένταις Mss.
[2] συμπεσόντες Rk., συμπεσόν Mss.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VII

THE cause of the Gallic expedition was this. The people of Clusium had suffered injuries in the war at the hands of the Gauls and had turned for refuge to the Romans, having considerable hope that they could obtain some help at least in that quarter, from the fact that they had not taken sides with the Veientes, though of the same race. When the Romans failed to vote them aid, but sent envoys to the Gauls and were negotiating a peace for them, they set little store by this (for it was offered them in return for a portion of the land), and attacked the barbarians in battle right after the conference, taking the Roman envoys along with them. The Gauls, vexed at seeing these on the opposite side, at first sent an embassy in their turn to Rome, preferring charges against the envoys. And when no punishment was B.C. 391

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(1) The European Gauls, of whom the Asiatic Gauls are thought to be an offshoot, . . .

(2) Meanwhile the people of Clusium with the Roman ambassadors lay in wait for the Gauls and attacked them.

μωρία σφίσιν ἐγένετο καὶ χιλίαρχοι πάντες ἀπεδείχθησαν, θυμοῦ τε ἐπληρώθησαν, ὄντες καὶ ἄλλως ὀργὴν ἄκροι, καὶ Κλουσίνους ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ θέμενοι πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ὥρμησαν.—U[R] 2 (p. 373).

3 Ὅτι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δεξαμένοις τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔφοδον οὐδ' ἀναπνεῦσαι ὑπῆρξεν, ἀλλ' αὐθημερὸν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐκ τῆς πορείας ὥσπερ εἶχον καταστάντες ἔπταισαν· πρός τε γὰρ τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ἐπιστρατείας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σωμάτων, τήν τε φωνὴν ξενικόν τέ τι καὶ φρικῶδες φθεγγομένην ἐκπλαγέντες, τῆς τε ἐμπειρίας ἅμα τῆς τῶν τακτικῶν ἐπελάθοντο, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς προήκαντο.

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(3) καὶ τοσούτῳ τάχει ἐχρήσατο ὥστ' ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει μὴ προμαθόντων Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἔφοδον. τὸ μέντοι δαιμόνιον προαγγεῖλαι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἔφοδον λέγεται. Μάρκος γὰρ Καίδικος νυκτός ποι βαδίζων φωνῆς ἤκουσε λεγούσης "Γαλάται ἔρχονται." εἰρηκότος δὲ τοῦτο Μάρκου τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ [ἐν παιδιᾷ τὸν λόγον ἐποιοῦντο καὶ γέλωτι Plut., *Camill.* 14], ἕως αὐτάγγελοι οἱ Γαλάται σφῶν πλησίον ἐγένοντο. τότε δὲ σπουδῇ ἐξελθόντες καὶ ἀτάκτως ἀγωνισάμενοι αἴσχρότατα ἥττηντο. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεπτώκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ἔθνησκον καταλαμβανόμενοι, πλεῖστοι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Τίβεριν συνώσθησαν[1] καὶ ἐφθάρησαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σκεδα-

[1] συνώσθησαν B corr., συνωθήθησαν C[c], συνωθήσθησαν A (?)

visited upon the latter, but they were all, on the contrary, appointed consular tribunes, the barbarians were filled with wrath, being naturally quick to anger, and since they held Clusium in contempt, they set out against Rome.

The Romans after going out to meet the invasion of the Gauls had no time even to recover breath, but went immediately from their march into battle, just as they were, and lost. Panic-striken by the unexpectedness of the invaders' expedition, by their numbers, by the huge size of their bodies, and by the strange and terrifying sound of their voices, they forgot their training in military science and hence lost the use

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Zonaras 7, 23.

(3) And he [Brennus] advanced with such speed that his followers came upon the city before the Romans had learned of their approach. Nevertheless, Heaven is said to have forewarned them of the attack. For as Marcus Caedicius was proceeding somewhere or other one night he heard a voice say: "The Gauls are coming." But when he reported this to the people and to the senate, [they treated his story with ridicule and derision,] until the Gauls were close at hand to announce themselves. Then indeed they eagerly sallied forth, but fighting in no orderly ranks, they met with a most disgraceful defeat. Many fell in battle, many while fleeing were overtaken and slain; great numbers moreover were crowded into the Tiber and there perished. The rest were scattered and managed

4 πλεῖστον γάρ τοι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἐπιστήμη φέρει, ὅτι καὶ παροῦσά τισι τὴν ῥώμην τῆς γνώμης σφῶν βεβαιοῖ καὶ ἐλλείπουσα καὶ ἐκείνην προσδιαφθείρει πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς προϋπῆρχεν·[1] ἄπειροι[2] μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ πολλὰ θυμῷ βιαίως κατορθοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ τῆς εὐταξίας, ἣν ἂν μάθωσιν, ἁμαρτάνοντες καὶ τὴν τοῦ φρονήματος ἰσχὺν προσαπολλύουσιν. ὑφ' ὧν καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐσφάλησαν.—M. 47 (p. 154).

5 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ὄντες καὶ πολιορκούμενοι ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας πλὴν παρὰ τοῦ

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σθέντες οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γνόντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἀπογνόντες οὔτε τῶν τειχῶν φυλακὴν ἔθεντο οὔτε τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ἔκλεισαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτὴν ἐκλιμπάνοντες ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀνέδραμον εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. μόνοι δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρες, οὓς οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἶναί φασιν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους Ῥωμαίων καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ γένος ἐνδύντες ἱερὰς ἢ πολυτελεστάτας στολάς . . .

(4) οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἦλθον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, . . . ἐπέσχον καὶ οὐκ εἰσῄεσαν . . . τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ θαρσήσαντες εἰσεπήδησαν καὶ εἷλον τὴν πόλιν.

(5) εἶτα καὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ προσέβαλον· ὡς δ' ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἐπιχειροῦντες ἡμέρας οὐδὲν ἤνυον,

[1] αὐτοῖς προϋπῆρχεν Bk., αὐτῆς προσαπῆλθεν Ms.
[2] ἄπειροι Bk., ἀπειρία Ms.

of their valour. For skill contributes very largely to bravery, since when present it strengthens the power of men's resolutions and when wanting destroys the same more thoroughly by far than if they had never possessed it at all. Many persons, to be sure, without experience often carry things through by the impetuosity of their spirit, but those who fail of the discipline which they have learned lose also their strength of purpose. This caused the defeat of the Romans.

The Romans who were on the Capitol under siege had no hope of safety, unless through the aid of

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Zonaras 7, 23.

to get away, some to Rome, and some to other places. The Romans in the city upon learning of the disaster were helpless, and in their despair neither manned the walls nor closed the city gates; instead, some of them deserted the city and fled, while others with their wives and children rushed up to the Capitol. Eighty men alone, who, according to some, were priests, according to others, the chief citizens in point of age, wealth, and family, arrayed themselves in sacred or very costly robes . . .

(4) The Gauls came the next day to Rome, [but upon seeing the gates open and the wall unguarded] they halted and did not enter, [since they suspected an ambush]. But on the third day they gained courage to rush in, and they captured the city.

(5) Then they attacked the Capitol also; but when, after attempts covering several days, they could accomplish nothing, [some continued to guard the

δαιμονίου οὐδεμίαν εἶχον. τὸ γὰρ δὴ θεῖον, καίπερ ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ[1] ὄντες ἐθεράπευον οὕτως ὥστε, ἐπειδή τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἐχρῆν ὑπὸ τῶν ποντιφίκων ἄλλοθί που τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι, Καίσων Φάβιος, ὃν[2] ἡ ἱερουργία ἱκνεῖτο, κατέβη τε ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου στειλάμενος ὥσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων διεξελθὼν τά τε νομιζόμενα
6 ἐποίησε καὶ αὐθημερὸν ἀνεκομίσθη. θαυμάζω μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὅτι αὐτοῦ, εἴτ' οὖν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εἴτε καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρετήν, ἐφείσαντο· πολύ γε μὴν μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐν θαύματι ποιοῦμαι καθ' ἑκάτερον, ὅτι τε ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μόνος κατελθεῖν ἐτόλμησε, καὶ ὅτι δυνηθεὶς ἀναχωρῆσαί ποι ἀσφαλῶς οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον αὖθις ἑκὼν ἐπὶ προὖπτον κίνδυνον ἀνεχώρησεν, ἐπιστάμενος μὲν ὀκνοῦντας αὐτοὺς τὸ χωρίον, ὃ μόνον ἔτι τῆς πατρίδος εἶχον, ἐκλιπεῖν, ὁρῶν δὲ μηδ' εἰ πάνυ ἐπεθύμουν ἐκφυγεῖν δυναμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πολιορκούντων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.—V. 13 (p. 581).

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. . . καὶ ὑπὸ μέθης ἐσφάλλοντο· οἴνῳ γὰρ ἐντυχόντες πολλῷ ἀκρατέστερον ἐχρῶντο αὐτῷ, μήπω πρότερον πόματος τοιούτου γευσάμενοι.

[1] κακοῦ Bk., κακῷ Ms. [2] ὃν Bs., ου (i.e. οὗ) Ms.

Heaven. For so scrupulously did they observe the mandates of religion, although in every extremity of evil, that when one of the sacred rites needed to be performed by the pontifices in another part of the city, Kaeso Fabius, who was then exercising the office of priest, descended for the purpose from the Capitol after arraying himself as was his wont, and passing through the enemy, performed the customary ceremony and returned the same day. I marvel at the barbarians, on the one hand, because, either on account of the gods or his bravery, they spared him; yet still more do I marvel at the man himself, for two reasons: first, that he dared to descend alone among the enemy, and again, that when he might have withdrawn to some place of safety, he refused, and instead voluntarily returned up to the Capitol again into manifest danger. For he understood that they hesitated to abandon the spot which was the only part of their country they still held, but saw at the same time that no matter how much they desired to escape it was impossible to do so by reason of the multitude of the besiegers.

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Capitol, while the others scoured the country for provisions, etc.]. And drunkenness proved their undoing; for upon finding a large quantity of wine they drank very intemperately, since they had never before tasted such a beverage.

7 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς παρακαλούμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐγχειρισθῆναι οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγων τε ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔμελλε κατὰ τὰ πάτρια αὐτὴν λήψεσθαι. οὕτω γάρ που νόμιμος ἀκριβής τε ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ ἐν τηλικούτῳ τῆς πατρίδος κινδύνῳ διὰ φροντίδος τὰ καθήκοντα ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ δικαιοῦν παράδειγμα τοῖς ἔπειτα παρανομίας καταλιπεῖν.—V. 14 (p. 582).

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(6) χαλεπῶς ἀνερπύσας μόλις τε ἀναρριχησάμενος . . .

(7) οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μεθ' ἡμέραν διιόντες [καὶ καταμαθόντες ὅθεν ὁ Πόντιος προσέβη τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Plut., *Camill.* 26, 1] (τοῦτο δ' ὑπετόπασαν ἔκ τε τῶν ἀπερρωγότων τῆς πέτρας θραυσμάτων καὶ τῆς πόας, ἣ πολλὴ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἦν, τῆς μὲν ἀνεσπασμένης, τῆς δὲ συμπεπιλημένης), ἐκεῖθεν ἀναβῆναι νυκτὸς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο. καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ δυσχερῶς μέν, ἀνῄεσαν δ' ὅμως, καὶ ἔλαθον ἂν . . .

(8) μικροῦ ἐξέλιπον ἂν αὐτήν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπείθοντο οὔτε τοῖς ἐν τέλει οὔτε τῇ γερουσίᾳ παρακαλοῦσι καὶ συμβουλεύουσι μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ ἄστυ, ὃ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἤδη ἐσέσωστο, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πάντων περὶ τούτου βουλευομένων ἑκατόνταρχος φρουρὰν ἄγων τινὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διιὼν τυχαίως, "ἐνταῦθα στῆτε" πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῷ ἑπομένους ἐβόησεν, "ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δεῖ ὑμᾶς μεῖναι." θείᾳ γὰρ προνοίᾳ ἐνόμισαν ταῦτ' εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ τοῦ μεταναστεῦσαι ἀπέσχοντο,

This same man [Camillus], when urged to let the leadership be entrusted to him, would not allow it, because he was an exile and could not take the position according to time-honoured usage. He showed himself so law-abiding and scrupulous a man that in so great a danger to his native land he made duty a matter of earnest thought and was unwilling to hand down to posterity the example of an illegal act.

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(6) When after much difficulty, now crawling and now clambering, he [Pontius Cominius] had at last reached the top . . .

(7) But the barbarians went around by day [and discovered where Pontius had approached the Capitol], drawing their inference from the fragments broken off the cliff as well as from the fact that the grass, which grew in abundance there, was in some places torn up, in other places crushed down. They determined therefore to climb up themselves the same way by night; and they did, in fact, make the attempt, and were getting up, painfully but surely, and would have escaped detection . . .

(8) They [the Romans] all but abandoned it [their ruined city]. They would not listen either to the officials or to the senate when these counselled them not to abandon the city, just saved from the enemy. But while they were all deliberating about the matter in the Forum, a centurion in command of a guard chanced to march directly past the assembly and to call out to his men: "Halt! This is where you remain." The people thought these words had been uttered by divine foresight, and so gave up the

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πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀνακαινισμὸν τῆς Ῥώμης σὺν προθυμίᾳ ἐτράποντο.

(9) *καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτως αὐτῷ προσβαλών. . . . ἀπαθὲς κακῶν αὐθημερὸν τοῖς πολίταις αὐτὸ ἀνεσώσατο. ἐθριάμβευσεν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄγων τὰ ἐπινίκια, καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης ᾔρετο.*

(10) *παραλαβὸν οὖν αὐτὸν τὸ πλῆθος ἀνήγαγεν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον· καὶ κατέσχον αὐτό. διὸ καὶ δικτάτωρ τὸ τέταρτον ᾑρέθη ὁ Κάμιλλος. τῶν δὲ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει ἐς μέγα δέος ἐμπεπτωκότων καὶ ἀπορούντων τί ἂν πράξαιεν, δοῦλός τις αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν ζῶντα τὸν Καπιτωλῖνον σφίσι παραδώσειν ὑπέσχετο. λαβὼν οὖν ὁπλίτας καὶ τάξας αὐτοὺς ἀφανῶς ἐνεδρεύειν ὑπὸ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὡς αὐτόμολος τῷ Καπιτωλίνῳ προσκεχωρήκει, ἐπῄνει τε αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως καὶ βοήθειαν παρὰ τῶν ὁμοδούλων αὐτῷ ἐπηγγέλλετο. καὶ ταῦτά οἱ διαλεγόμενος ἀπήγαγε τὸν ἄνδρα πόρρω τῶν περιεστηκότων, ὡς δή τι κοινολογούμενος αὐτῷ ἰδιαίτατα, καὶ ἠρέμα κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ Καπιτωλίου προσῄει καθ' ὃ ἡ ἐνέδρα ἐλελόχιστο, κἀκεῖθεν αὐτὸν κάτω ἀπώσατο· ὃς καὶ συλληφθεὶς ἀποκεκόμιστο πρὸς τὸ δικαστήριον. ὁ δὲ τάς τε ἀριστείας κατέλεγε καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον τοῖς τε δικάζουσι καὶ τοῖς περιεστῶσιν ἐδείκνυ, ἄποπτον ὂν ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ προσπεφευγότων πολιτῶν ἀνεμίμνησκεν, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν κατακλᾶσθαι τοὺς δικαστὰς καὶ ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὴν ψῆφον.*

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thought of removal and turned with eagerness to the rebuilding of Rome.

(9) And attacking it [Sutrium] unexpectedly . . . he [Camillus] restored it that same day safe and uninjured to the inhabitants. Accordingly he celebrated a triumph as a result of these victories and was exalted to great honour.

(10) The populace, accordingly, led him [Capitolinus] up to the Capitol; and they took possession of it. As a result, Camillus was chosen dictator for the fourth time. Now when the senators and the magistrates had fallen into great fear and were doubtful what course to take, a slave approached them and promised to deliver up Capitolinus to them alive. Receiving for the purpose some heavy-armed troops and placing them secretly in ambush below the Capitol, he himself went forward in the guise of a deserter to meet Capitolinus; and he proceeded to praise him for his undertaking and to promise assistance from his fellow-slaves. While thus conversing with the man, he drew him apart from the bystanders, pretending that he had some communication for him in particular, and gradually approached that part of the Capitol where the ambuscade had been stationed; then he thrust him down. Thus Capitolinus was seized and brought before the court. But he proceeded to enumerate his valiant services and to point out to the jury and others present the Capitol, which was visible from that point, and reminded them of the preservation not only of the citadel itself but also of the citizens who had taken refuge there; as a result, the jurors were overcome with emotion, and postponed the vote.

26 Ὅτι τοῦ Καπιτωλίνου κατέγνω ὁ δῆμος, καὶ ἥ τε οἰκία αὐτοῦ κατεσκάφη καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐδημεύθη, τό τε ὄνομα, καὶ εἰ δή που εἰκὼν ἦν, ἀπηλείφθη καὶ διεφθάρη· καὶ νῦν δὲ πλὴν τῆς κατασκαφῆς πάντα ταῦτα [1] γίγνεται ἐπὶ τοῖς τῷ κοινῷ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν. ἔκριναν δὲ καὶ μηδένα εὐπατρίδην ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ κατοικεῖν, ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐνταυθοῖ οἰκῶν ἐτύγχανεν. ἡ δὲ δὴ συγγένεια ἡ τῶν Μαλλίων ἀπεῖπε μηδένα σφῶν Μᾶρκον, ἐπείπερ οὕτως [2] ὠνομάζετο, προσκαλεῖσθαι.

2 Καπιτωλῖνος μὲν οὖν τοσοῦτον τὸ διαλλάσσον κἀν τοῖς τρόποις κἀν τῇ τύχῃ ἔσχεν· τά τε γὰρ πολέμια ἀκριβώσας εἰρηνεῖν οὐκ ἠπίστατο, καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὃ ἐσεσώκει κατέλαβεν ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, εὐπατρίδης τε ὢν οἰκέτου ἔργον ἐγένετο, καὶ πολεμικὸς νομισθεὶς ἐν ἀνδραπόδου τρόπῳ συνελήφθη, κατά τε τῆς πέτρας αὐτῆς ἀφ' ἧς τοὺς Γαλάτας ἀπεώσατο ἐρρίφη.—V. 15 (p. 582).

3 Ὅτι ὁ Καπιτωλῖνος κατεκρημνίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. οὕτως οὔτ' ἄλλο τι κατὰ χώραν ὡς πλήθει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μένει, καὶ αἱ [3] εὐπραγίαι συχνοὺς ἐς συμφορὰς ἀντιρρόπους προάγουσιν· ἐξαίρουσαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν ὁμοίων, τοῦ τε πλείονος ἀεὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐπορέγεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐναντιώτατον σφαλέντας καταβάλλουσι. —M. 48 (p. 155).

[1] *πάντα ταῦτα* Bk., *πάντα* Ms. [2] *οὕτως* Rk., *οὗτος* Ms.
[3] *αἱ* added by Dindorf.

The people sentenced Capitolinus to death, his house was razed to the ground, his wealth confiscated, and his name and even likeness, wherever such existed, were erased and destroyed. At the present day, too, all these punishments, except the razing to the ground, are visited upon those who conspire against the commonwealth. They decreed also that no patrician should dwell upon the citadel, because Capitolinus had happened to have his house there. And the family of the Manlii prohibited any one of their number from being called Marcus, since that had been his name. B.C. 384

Such was the change, then, that Capitolinus underwent both in character and in fortune. Having made a speciality of warfare, he did not understand how to remain at peace; the Capitol he had once saved he occupied for the purpose of establishing a tyranny; although a patrician he became the prey of a servant; and whereas he was reputed a warrior, he was arrested after the manner of a slave and hurled down the very rock from which he had repulsed the Gauls.

Capitolinus was thrown headlong down the rock by the Romans. So true it is that nothing in human affairs, as a rule, remains fixed; and success, in particular, leads many people on into catastrophes equally great. It raises their hopes for continued good fortune, makes them always strive for more, and, when they fail, hurls them into the very opposite extreme.

28 Ὅτι πρὸς Τουσκουλανοὺς ἐστράτευσε Κάμιλλος, θαυμαστῇ δέ τινι προσποιήσει δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔπαθον.[1] καθάπερ γὰρ οὔτ' αὐτοί τι πλημμελήσαντες οὔτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀργήν σφισι ἐχόντων, ἀλλ' ἤτοι ὡς φίλων παρὰ φίλους ἰόντων ἢ καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρους τινὰς διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων στρατευόντων, οὔτε τι μετέβαλον τῶν καθεστηκότων οὔθ'
2 ὅλως ἐταράχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντες ἐπί τε ταῖς δημιουργίαις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις ἐν εἰρήνῃ κατὰ χώραν μείναντες, εἴσω τε τὸν στρατὸν ἐσεδέξαντο καὶ ξένια αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν τά τε ἄλλα ὡς φίλους ἐτίμησαν. ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐχ ὅτι κακόν τι[2] αὐτοὺς ἔδρασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐσεγράψαντο.—V. 16 (p. 582).
3 Δίωνος ζ' βιβλίῳ "Τουσκουλανοὶ[3] δὲ χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἀντήραντο αὐτῷ."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 123, 32.

Zonaras 7, 24.

Εἶτα πολλῶν πολέμων κατά τε τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῇ πόλεων κινηθέντων, ἐπεξελθόντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διά τε τοῦ Καμίλλου καὶ δι' ἑτέρων, ἤδη ἐκείνου ὑπεργηράσαντος, τούς τε πολέμους κατέπαυσαν, καὶ εἰρήνην βαθεῖαν ἔσχον πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός, πρὸς ἀλλήλους δὲ ἐστασίαζον. Μάρκος γάρ τις Φάβιος εὐπατρίδης, θυγατέρων δύο τυγχάνων πατήρ, τὴν μὲν πρεσβυτέραν Λικιννίῳ τινὶ Στόλωνι κατηγγύησε πολὺ αὐτοῦ καταδεεστέρῳ, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν Σουλπικίῳ Ῥούφῳ, ἀνδρὶ ὁμοτίμῳ, συνῴκισε.

[1] ἔπαθον Val., ἔπαθεν Ms. [2] τι added by Bk.
[3] Τουσκουλανοὶ Bk., κουλανοὶ Ms.

BOOK VII

Camillus made a campaign against the Tusculans, but thanks to a remarkable course of dissimulation that they adopted they suffered no harm. For, just as if they themselves were guilty of no offence and the Romans were cherishing no anger against them, but were either coming to them as friends to friends or else marching through their territory against some other tribes, they changed none of their accustomed habits and were not in the least disturbed; instead, all without exception remained in their places, at their regular trades or occupations, just as in time of peace, and receiving the army within their borders, gave them hospitable gifts, and in other ways honoured them like friends. Consequently the Romans, so far from doing them harm, enrolled them subsequently among the citizens. B.C. 381

Dio, Book VII. "The Tusculans did not raise their hands against him."

Zonaras 7, 24.

Then many wars were stirred up both against Rome herself and against the cities subject to her; but the Romans went out against their enemies under the leadership sometimes of Camillus, sometimes of others,—for he was now very old,—and quelled these wars. Then they enjoyed profound peace with the outside nations, but were at variance among themselves. A certain Marcus Fabius, a patrician, who chanced to be the father of two daughters, had betrothed the elder to one Licinius Stolo, much inferior to him in rank, and married the younger to Sulpicius Rufus, who belonged to his own class. Now while

29 Ὅτι ἡ γυνή, τοῦ Ῥούφου[1] χιλιαρχοῦντος καὶ πράττοντός τι[2] ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ δημόσιον, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκετο καὶ τὴν θύραν ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος κατά τι ἔθος ἀρχαῖον[3] ἔκρουσεν, ἐξεταράχθη πρὸς τοῦτο, οὔπω πρότερον τοιούτου τινὸς πεπειραμένη, καὶ διεπτοήθη. γέλωτος οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῇ συχνοῦ καὶ παρὰ
2 τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γενομένου, καὶ σκωφθεῖσα ὡς ἰδιῶτις τῶν ἀρχικῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὸ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς μήποτε ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ τινὶ ἐξητάσθαι οὖσα, δεινὸν ἐποιήσατο, οἷά που ἄλλως τε καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐκ μικροψυχίας συμβαίνειν πέφυκεν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκε δυσκολαίνουσα πρὶν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν θορυβῆσαι,[4] ὥς που σμικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα πολλῶν τισι καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν αἴτια γίγνεται, ὅταν φθόνῳ τέ τις αὐτὰ καὶ ζηλοτύπως λαμβάνῃ.—M. 49 (p. 155).

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χιλιαρχοῦντος οὖν τοῦ Ῥούφου καὶ ὄντος ἐν ἀγορᾷ, πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτῆς παραγέγονεν. ἀφικομένου δ' ἐκείνου τὴν θύραν ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος κατά τι ἔθος ἀρχαῖον ἔκρουσε. διεπτοήθη δὲ πρὸς τὸν πάταγον ἡ γυνὴ οὔπω τούτου πεπειραμένη· καὶ γέλως ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς ἰδιῶτις ἐσκώφθη. τῇ δ' ἐν δεινῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα πεποίητο, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐς ἀρχὴν παραγγεῖλαι ἠρέθιζεν. ὁ γοῦν Στόλων ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς παρακινηθεὶς Λουκίῳ τινὶ Σεξτίῳ, ἀνδρὶ τῶν

[1] γυνή, τοῦ Ῥούφου Vinkesteyn, τοῦ ῥούφου γυνὴ Ms. [2] τι added by Bk. [3] ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος is repeated in the Ms. after ἀρχαῖον; Mai deleted. [4] θορυβῆσαι Mai, θεραπεῦσαι Ms.

BOOK VII

When Rufus, who was consular tribune and was engaged in public service in the Forum, arrived at home, and the lictor, according to an ancient custom, knocked at the door, the woman was alarmed at this, being unfamiliar with anything of the sort, and was startled. Accordingly, both her sister and the others burst into loud laughter at her expense, and made fun of her as a woman ignorant of official etiquette, since her husband had never served in any position of authority. She took it terribly to heart, as women in particular, from their littleness of soul, usually do, and would not give up her resentment until she had set all the city in an uproar. Thus small and accidental events become, in some cases, the cause of many great evils, when a person meets them with envy and jealousy. B.C. 376

Zonaras 7, 24.

Rufus was consular tribune and was in the Forum one day, his wife had a visit from her sister. Upon the arrival of the husband the lictor, according to an ancient custom, knocked at the door. The visitor was startled by the noise, as she was unfamiliar with this procedure; thereupon both her sister and the others present burst out laughing and made fun of her as an ignoramus. But she took the matter as a serious affront, and roused her husband to canvass for office. Stolo, accordingly, incited by his wife, took counsel with Lucius Sextius, a man of his

3 Ὅτι δεινὸν ἐν κακοῖς προσδοκία σωτηρίας ἀναπεῖσαί τινα πιστεῦσαι καὶ τοῖς παραλόγοις.—M. 50 (p. 156).

4 Ἀεὶ γάρ τι τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας κόσμου στασιάζοντες παρέλυον, ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς πολέμους πρὶν τοὺς μεγίστους ἀνῃροῦντο, ταῦτ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ σύμπαντα ὡς εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀστασιάστως μέν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ χαλεπῶς κατακτήσασθαι.—M. 51 (p. 156).

5 Ὅτι Πούπλιος, τῶν πολιτῶν[1] στασιαζόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὀλίγου τούτους συνήλλαξεν· Λικίννιον γὰρ Στόλωνα ἵππαρχον προσείλετο καίπερ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ὄντα.[2] ὅπερ καινοτομηθὲν τοὺς μὲν εὐπατρίδας ἐλύπησεν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους οὕτως ὑπηγάγετο ὥστε μηκέτι τῆς ὑπατείας τῷ ὑστέρῳ[3] ἔτει ἀντιποιήσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐᾶσαι τοὺς
6 χιλιάρχους αἱρεθῆναι. ἐκ γὰρ τούτου καὶ ἐς τἆλλα ἀνθυπείξαντές γέ τινα ἀλλήλοις ἴσως ἂν κατηλλάγησαν, εἰ μήπερ ὁ Στόλων ὁ δήμαρχος τοιοῦτόν τι εἰπών, ὡς οὐκ ἂν πίοιεν[4] εἰ μὴ φάγοιεν,

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ὁμοίων, τὰ τοῦ πράγματος κοινωσάμενος, ἄμφω δημαρχῆσαι κατεβιάσατο, καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῆς πολιτείας συνέχεον, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τέσσαρσιν ἔτεσιν ἀναρχίαν γενέσθαι τῷ δήμῳ· τὰς γὰρ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐνεπόδιζον.

[1] Ῥωμαίων, which follows πολιτῶν in the Ms., was recognized by Bs. as due to the excerptor. [2] ἵππαρχον . . . ὄντα Bs., following Reimar (προσείλετο καίπερ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ὄντα ἵππαρχον), προσείλετο ὄντα ἵππαρχον Ms. [3] ὑστέρῳ Bk., ἑτέρῳ Ms. [4] ἂν πίοιεν Reim., ἀπίοιεν Ms.

BOOK VII

In the midst of evils expectation of rescue is very apt to persuade one to trust even in what is beyond reason.

For by their disputes they were constantly undermining in one way or another the good order of the state; as a rule, nearly all these objects for which they were formerly accustomed to wage the greatest wars, they gained in time—not without factional quarrels, to be sure, but still with small difficulty.

Publius,[1] when the citizens of Rome were quarrelling with one another, nearly reconciled them. For he chose as master of the horse Licinius Stolo, in spite of the fact that he was a man of the people. This innovation grieved the patricians, but conciliated the rest so much that they no longer laid claim to the consulship for the following year, but allowed consular tribunes to be chosen. As a result of this certain mutual concessions were made in other matters as well, and they would perhaps have become reconciled with each other, had not Stolo, the tribune, made some remark to the effect that they should not drink unless they would eat[2] and so persuaded B.C. 368

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own station, and forced the election of them both to the tribuneship; and they overthrew the established order of the state to such an extent that for four years the people had no rulers, since these men repeatedly obstructed the patrician elections.

[1] This is Publius Manlius, the dictator (Livy 6, 39).

[2] A proverbial form of statement, based on the well-known practice of the Greeks and Romans of drinking only in connection with meals. According to Livy (6, 39) the people had accepted the measures of Stolo with reference to the

ἀνέπεισεν αὐτοὺς μηδενὸς ἀφέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα πάντα ὅσα ἐνεχειρίσαντο κατεργάσασθαι.—V. 17 (p. 585).

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Καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἂν ἔτι τοῦτο ἐγένετο, εἰ μή τις ἀγγελία κεκόμιστο [*ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὖθις ἐλαύνειν Κελτούς* Plut., *Camill.* 40]. *ἅπαν οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀφέντες διάφορον* [*δικτάτορα τὸ πέμπτον τὸν Κάμιλλον εἵλοντο ibid.*], *καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστράτευσαν. οὐ μάχη μέντοι κοινή, μονομαχία δὲ γέγονε πρότερον. Τίτος γάρ τις Μάλλιος ἀνὴρ εὐπατρίδης, προσκεκρουκὼς τῷ πατρί, παρημελεῖτο καὶ διέτριβεν ἐν ἀγρῷ· εἶτα τῷ πατρὶ διηλλάγη, καὶ χιλίαρχος στρατοπέδου γενόμενος τῷ τε προκαλουμένῳ Κελτῷ πρὸς μονομαχίαν ἀντέστη καὶ νικήσας αὐτὸν τὸν στρεπτὸν αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦν ὄντα ἐσκύλευσε, καὶ Τουρκουάτος φορῶν αὐτὸν ἐπεκέκλητο. συμμιξάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἥττηντο οἱ Κελτοί, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁρμῆς ἀπέσχοντο, τὴν δ' Ἀλβανίδα ἐλεηλάτουν. ἐάσαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαρπάσαι τὴν χώραν, ὡς κατακορεῖς γενόμενοι βρωμάτων καὶ μέθης εὐεπιχειρητότεροι εἶεν, ἐπέθεντο σφίσι, καὶ αὐτῶν τε πολλοὺς διέφθειραν καὶ τὸ σφῶν εἷλον στρατόπεδον. ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανελθὼν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν.*

Ἔκτοτε οὖν οἱ μὲν χιλίαρχοι, οἳ ἀντὶ τῶν

them to relinquish nothing, but to carry through as indispensable reforms all that they had taken in hand.

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This state of affairs would have continued for a still longer time, had not news been brought that the Celts[1] were again marching upon Rome. Accordingly they dropped all their quarrels with each other, chose Camillus dictator for the fifth time, and marched against the barbarians. A general engagement, however, did not take place at once, but first there was a combat between single champions. There was a certain Titus Manlius, a patrician, who had quarrelled with his father and had been living neglected in the country; but after becoming reconciled with his father he had been elected military tribune. This Manlius now presented himself against the Celt who had offered the challenge for a duel, vanquished him, and stripped from him his collar, which was of gold; and wearing this, he received the cognomen of Torquatus. Now when the armies joined in battle, the Celts were defeated, and desisted from their march upon Rome, but proceeded to ravage the Alban territory. The Romans permitted them to plunder the country, in order that they might freely indulge in food and drink, and so become easier to attack; then assailing them, they destroyed a great many and captured their camp. After this Camillus returned to Rome and resigned his office. B.C. 367

From this time the consular tribunes, who had

public land and interest, but rejected the proposal of a plebeian consul; the tribunes thereupon declared that all the measures must be accepted, or none.

[1] "Celt" is the term regularly employed by Plutarch; in what immediately follows Zonaras continues to use this word, although his account is based on Dio.

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ὑπάτων ἐγίνοντο, ἐσχολάκασιν, ὕπατοι δὲ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἐνίοτε μὲν εὐπατρίδαι, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ἐνίοτε, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοῦ. νόσου δ' ἐνσκηψάσης τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ὁ Κάμιλλος τέθνηκε καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πλεῖστα θανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἠνιάθησαν.

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25. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καί τι συμβῆναι πάθος περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἱστόρηται· διαστῆναι γὰρ τὸ πεδίον λέγεται τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ Παλατίου καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐξάπινα, μήτε σεισμοῦ προηγησαμένου μήτ' ἄλλου τινός, οἷα συμβαίνειν εἴωθε φυσικῶς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις παθήμασι. καὶ ἦν τὸ χάσμα διαμένον ἐπὶ μακρόν, οὔτε συνερχόμενον οἵως δή ποτε οὔτε μέντοι πληρούμενον, καὶ ταῦτα χοῦν τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς αὐτὸ συμφορούντων πολὺν καὶ λίθους καὶ ἄλλην ὕλην παντοδαπήν. ἀποροῦσιν οὖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χρησμὸς ἐδόθη μὴ ἄλλως τὸ διεστὸς συνελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ κρεῖττον αὐτῶν καὶ δι' οὗ μάλιστα πλεῖστον ἰσχύουσιν εἰς τὸ χάσμα ἐμβάλλουσιν· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκεῖνό τε παύσεται καὶ τῇ πόλει ἔσται δύναμις ἀκατάλυτος. ἔμενεν οὖν καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἄπορον ἀπορούμενον, ἀσαφοῦς τυγχάνοντος τοῦ χρησμοῦ. Μάρκος δὲ Κούρτιος,

Ioan. Tzetzes, Schol. ad Exeg. Iliad., p. 136, 17.

Δίων δὲ Κάσσιος Κοκκειανός, ὁ τὰ Ῥωμαίων συντάξας, ἐκ θεομηνίας φησὶ γενέσθαι χάσμα περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ μὴ ἐπιμύειν. χρησμοῦ δὲ δοθέντος ἐπιμῦσαι τὸ χάσμα ἐὰν ὃ κράτιστον Ῥωμαίοις ἐμβάλωσιν ἐν αὐτῷ, Κούρτιός τις ἱππεὺς εὐγενής, οὐδενὸς ἄλλου συμβαλεῖν τὸν

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replaced the consuls, ceased to be elected, and consuls were chosen—sometimes patricians, sometimes plebeians, and occasionally from both orders at the same time. Furthermore, a pestilence visited Rome, in the course of which Camillus died; and the Romans grieved greatly at his death.

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25. It is related that after this a disaster befell Rome. The level land between the Palatine and the Capitoline is said to have become suddenly a yawning chasm, without any preceding earthquake or other natural phenomenon such as usually takes place in connexion with such events. For a long time the chasm remained thus, refusing to close at all or even to be filled, although the Romans brought and cast into it masses of earth and stones and all sorts of other material. In the midst of their uncertainty an oracle was given them to the effect that the aperture could in no wise be closed unless they threw into the chasm their best possession and that which was the chief source of their strength; in this way the prodigy would cease, and the city would command invincible power. Still the uncertainty remained unresolved, for the oracle was obscure. But Marcus Curtius, a patrician, young in

Ioan. Tzetzes, Schol. ad Exeg. Iliad., p. 136, 17.

Dio Cassius Cocceianus, the compiler of Roman history, states that as a result of the wrath of Heaven a fissure opened in the ground round about Rome and would not close. After an oracle had been obtained to the effect that the fissure would close if they should throw into it the mightiest possession of the Romans, one Curtius, a knight of noble birth,

30, 2 Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ζῷον θνητὸν οὔτ'[1] ἄμεινον οὔτ'[1] ἰσχυρότερον ἀνθρώπου. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κάτω κέκυφε καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀεὶ βλέπει, πράττει τε οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ τροφῆς καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἔχεται[2] (οὕτω καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως
3 ἐς ταῦτα κατακέκριται), μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς ἄνω τε ὁρῶμεν καὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ αὐτῷ ὁμιλοῦμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπερφρονοῦμεν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ θεοῖς αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ὁμοίοις οὖσιν ἡμῖν σύνεσμεν, ἅτε καὶ φυτὰ καὶ ποιήματα αὐτῶν οὐ γήινα ἀλλ' οὐράνια ὄντες;[2] ὑφ' οὗ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα εἴδη καὶ γράφομεν καὶ πλάττομεν· εἰ γὰρ δεῖ δή τι καὶ θρασυνόμενον εἰπεῖν, οὔτ'

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ἀνὴρ εὐπατρίδης, νέος τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὡραιότατος τὴν μορφήν, ῥωμαλεώτατος τὴν ἰσχύν, ἀνδρειότατος τὴν ψυχήν, φρονήσει διαπρεπής, τὸν νοῦν συνεὶς τοῦ χρησμοῦ, παρελθὼν εἰς μέσον ἐδημηγόρησε λέγων "τί τῶν λογίων ἀσάφειαν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι; μᾶλλον[3] ἢ ἀμαθίαν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καταψηφιζόμεθα; ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ζητούμενόν τε καὶ ἀπορούμενον. οὐ γάρ τι ἄψυχον ἐμψύχου λογισθήσεται βέλτιον, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἔννου καὶ ἔμφρονος καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένου τὸ ἄνουν ἄλογόν τε καὶ ἄφρον προτιμηθήσεται. τί γὰρ ἄν τις ἀνθρώπου προκρίνειεν, ἵνα τοῦτο ἐς τὴν τῆς γῆς βαλόντες διάστασιν αὐτὴν συναγάγοιμεν; οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ζῷον θνητὸν οὐδ' ἄμεινον οὐδ' ἰσχυρότερον ἀνθρώπου. εἰ γάρ τι δεῖ καὶ θρασυνόμενον εἰπεῖν,

[1] οὔτ'—οὔτ' Bk., οὐδ'—οὐδ' Mss.

[2] Punctuation is that of Bs.; previous editors ended the question with ἔχεται.

[3] μᾶλλον supplied by Bs.

BOOK VII

There is no mortal creature either better or stronger than man. Do you not see that all the rest go bent downwards and look forever toward the earth and accomplish nothing save what is connected with their nourishment and the propagation of their species (for to these pursuits they have been condemned even by Nature herself), while we alone gaze upwards and associate with heaven itself, despising the things on the earth and dwelling with the very gods, whom we believe to be similar to ourselves inasmuch as we are both their offspring and creation, not earthly, but heavenly? And for this reason we both paint and fashion those very beings according to our own forms; for, if I may speak somewhat boldly, man is B.C. 362

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years, of a remarkably handsome appearance, powerful physique, and courageous spirit, and conspicuous for intelligence, comprehended the meaning of the oracle. He came forward, therefore, before them all and addressed them, saying: "Why, Romans, do we blame the obscurity of the oracle rather than our own ignorance? We are this thing sought and debated. For nothing lifeless is to be accounted better than that which has life, nor shall that which is uncomprehending, speechless, and senseless be preferred to that which has comprehension and sense and the adornment of speech. What should any one deem superior to man to be cast into the earth-fissure, that therewith we might close it? There is no mortal creature either better or stronger than man. For, if I may speak somewhat boldly, man

ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ θεὸς σῶμα θνητὸν ἔχων, οὔτε θεὸς ἄλλο τι ἢ ἄνθρωπος ἀσώματος καὶ
4 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀθάνατος. ταῦτά τοι καὶ συμπάντων τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων προφέρομεν· καὶ οὔτε τι πεζόν ἐστιν ὃ μὴ τάχει καταληφθὲν ἢ ἰσχύι δαμασθὲν ἢ καὶ τέχναις τισὶ συλληφθὲν δουλούμεθα, οὔτ' ἔνυδρον οὔτ' ἀεροπόρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ μηδ' ὁρῶντες ἀνέλκομεν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μηδὲ ἐξικνούμενοι κατασύρομεν.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 211 ᵛ A (f. 241 B) (M. p. 532).

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οὔτ' ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ θεὸς σῶμα θνητὸν ἔχων οὔτε θεὸς ἄλλο τι ἢ ἄνθρωπος ἀσώματος κἀντεῦθεν ἀθάνατος, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἀπηρτήμεθα. ταῦτα ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτω φρονῶ, ἀξιῶ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς τῇ γνώμῃ προσθέσθαι ταύτῃ. καὶ μή τις οἰήσαιτο ὅτι κλῆρον ποιήσομαι ἢ κόρην κελεύσω θανεῖν ἢ μειράκιον· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἑκὼν ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιδίδωμι, ἵνα σήμερον αὐτίκα κήρυκα πέμψητέ με καὶ πρεσβευτὴν τοῖς χθονίοις θεοῖς, ἐσόμενον ὑμῖν ἀεὶ προστάτην καὶ σύμμαχον." ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Κούρτιος τὰ ὅπλα ἐνεδιδύσκετο, εἶτα καὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἐπέβη. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περιαλγεῖς ἐγίνοντο καὶ περιχαρεῖς, καὶ κοσμήματά τινα συμφορήσαντες οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον αὐτοῖς ἐκόσμουν ὡς ἥρωα, οἱ δέ τινα καὶ ἐς τὸ χάσμα ἐνέβαλλον. ἄρτι δ' ἐς αὐτὸ ἐνήλατο

Ioan. Tzetzes, Schol. ad Exeg. Iliad., p. 136, 17.

χρησμὸν δυναμένου, αὐτὸς ἑρμηνεύσας ἵππον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον λέγειν, εὐθέως ἀνέβη τε τὸν

naught else than a god with mortal body, and a god naught else than a man without body and consequently immortal. That is why we surpass all other creatures. And there is no creature afoot which we do not enslave, overtaking it by speed or subduing it by force or catching it by some artifice, nor yet any that lives in the water or travels through the air; nay, even of these two classes, we pull the former up from the depths without seeing them and drag the latter down from the sky without going to them.

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is naught else than a god with mortal body, and a god naught else than a man without body and therefore immortal; and we are not far removed from divine power. This is what I think about the matter, and I ask you also to accept this view. But let no one think that I would have recourse to the lot or bid maiden or lad perish. I, of my own free accord, bestow myself upon you, that you may send me at once this very day as herald and envoy to the chthonian gods, to be your representative and helper forever." With these words Curtius proceeded to put on his armour and then mounted his horse. The rest grew mad with grief and mad with joy; and collecting various ornaments, some adorned the man himself with them as a hero, while others threw theirs into the chasm. Scarcely had Curtius sprung

Ioan. Tzetzes, Schol. ad Exeg. Iliad., p. 136, 17.

when no one else was able to understand the oracle, himself interpreted it to mean a horse and man together. Straightway he mounted his horse and just

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ὁ Κούρτιος ἔφιππος καὶ ἡ τῆς γῆς συνήχθη διάστασις, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι οὔτε τὸ χάσμα οὔτε τὸν Κούρτιον ἐθεάσατο. ταῦθ' οὕτω τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἱστόρηται· εἰ δέ τῳ μυθώδη κριθείη καὶ μὴ πιστά, ἔξεστίν οἱ μὴ προσέχειν αὐτοῖς.

Τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δὲ πόλεμοι αὖθις καὶ παρὰ Γαλατῶν καὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν ἐπηνέχθησαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρούσαντο πάντας, τῇ μὲν ὑπάτους, τῇ δὲ δικτάτορας ψηφιζόμενοι. ὅτε καί τι τοιοῦτον συμβέβηκε. δικτάτωρ ἐλέχθη Λούκιος Κάμιλλος, Γαλατῶν κατατρεχόντων τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥώμην. ὃς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁρμήσας γνώμην εἶχε τρίβειν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ μὴ διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπονοίᾳ χρωμένους· ῥᾷον γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀπορίᾳ τροφῶν ἐκτρυχώσειν ἤλπισε. Γαλάτης δέ τις εἰς μονομαχίαν τινὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προεκαλεῖτο. καὶ ἀντέστη αὐτῷ Οὐαλλέριος Μάρκος χιλιαρχῶν, ὁ τοῦ Μαξίμου ἐκείνου ἔγγονος. καὶ λαμπρὰ μὲν ἡ μάχη προέβη ἀμφοῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ τῇ περιτεχνήσει προέφερεν, ὁ δὲ Γαλάτης τῇ ἰσχύι καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ· ἐπὶ πλέον δ' ἐθαυμαστώθη ὅτι τῷ τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου κράνει κόραξ ἐφιπτάμενος καὶ κρώζων εἰς τὸν βάρβαρον ἐνεχρίμπτετο, καὶ τήν τε ὄψιν αὐτοῦ ἐπετάρασσε καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐνεπόδιζε, μέχρις οὗ

Ioan. Tzetzes, Schol. ad Exeg. Iliad., p. 136, 17.

ἵππον καὶ ὡς εἶχεν ἐλάσας ἡρωικῶς κατὰ τοῦ φρικώδους ἐκείνου βόθρου ἐφέρετο. καὶ εὐθέως κατενεχθέντος τὸ χάσμα ἐπέμυε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄνωθεν ἄνθεσιν ἔβαλλον. κἀκ τούτου καὶ Κούρτιος ὁ λάκκος ἐκλήθη.

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into it mounted, when the earth-fissure was closed and no one ever again beheld either the chasm or Curtius. This is the way the story is related by the Romans; should any person judge it fabulous and not to be credited, he is at liberty to pay no attention to it.

And again wars were waged against the Romans both by Gauls and by other nations, but they repelled all invaders, voting now for consuls, now for dictators. At this time occurred an incident of B.C. 349
the following nature. Lucius Camillus had been chosen dictator, when the Gauls were overrunning the environs of Rome; and he had proceeded against the barbarians with the intention of using up time and not risking a conflict with men animated by desperation; inasmuch as he hoped to exhaust them more easily and securely through the failure of their provisions. But a Gaul challenged some one of the Romans to single combat, and there met him, accordingly, Marcus Valerius, a military tribune, and grandson of the famous Maximus. The course of the battle was brilliant on both sides: the Roman excelled in skill and unusual cleverness, and the Gaul in strength and daring. It was regarded as still more marvellous that a crow lighted on the helmet of Valerius and cawing all the while made dashes at the barbarian, confusing his sight and impeding his attack until he was finally slain. The

Ioan. Tzetzes, Schol. ad Exeg. Iliad., p. 136, 17.

as he was dashed heroically forward and plunged down that frightful pit. No sooner had he plunged down than the fissure closed; and the rest of the Romans from above scattered flowers. From this event the name of Curtius was applied also to the pit.

32 *Ὅτι ὁ Δίων φησὶ "διόπερ που, καίπερ οὐκ εἰωθὼς ἐκβολαῖς τοῦ λόγου χρῆσθαι, ἄλλως τε ἐπεμνήσθην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὀλυμπιάδα προσέγραψα, ἵν' ἐπειδὴ λανθάνει τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ χρόνος τῆς μετοικίσεως, ἐκφανέστερος ἐξ ἐκείνου γένηται."*—M. 52 (p. 156).

35 *Ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τοιουτότροπα προετείνοντο, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ καταπράξειν τι αὐτῶν*

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κατειργάσθη. διὸ ἀγανακτήσαντες οἱ Γαλάται ὡς ὑπὸ ὄρνιθος ἠλαττωμένοι, θυμῷ αὐτίκα συνέμιξαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ κακῶς ἀπηλλάγησαν. ὁ δ' Οὐαλλέριος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόρακος συμμαχίας Κορουῖνος ἐπωνομάσθη·

Εἰσέπειτα δὲ τῶν στρατευμάτων στασιασάντων καὶ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου γενέσθαι μέλλοντος, κατηλλάγησαν οἱ στασιάσαντες, νόμων τεθέντων μήτ' ἄκοντά τινα τοῦ καταλόγου ἀπαλείφεσθαι, μήτε τὸν χιλιαρχήσαντα ἑκατονταρχεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ ἄμφω ἐξὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους καθίστασθαι, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν μήτε δύο ἅμα ἀρχὰς μήτε τὴν αὐτὴν δὶς ἐντὸς δέκα ἄρχειν ἐτῶν.

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26. *Λατῖνοι δὲ καίπερ ἔνσπονδοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες ἀπέστησαν καὶ πόλεμον ἤραντο, ἐν φρονήματι γεγονότες ὅτι τε νεότητι ἤκμαζον καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀεὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς στρατείας ἀκριβῶς*

Dio says: "Accordingly, although not accustomed to indulge in digressions, I have taken pains to make mention of this event and have stated in addition the Olympiad, in order that the date of the migration, of which most men are ignorant, may, from the precaution mentioned, become better known.[1]

They put forward these proposals and a few others of similar nature, not because they expected to carry B.C. 340

Zonaras 7, 25.

Gauls, consequently, indignant at being vanquished by a bird, closed at once in their rage with the Romans and suffered a severe defeat. From the incident of the crow's assistance Valerius received the cognomen of Corvinus.

Thereafter, as the armies began to grow insubordinate and a civil war threatened to break out, the insurgents were brought to terms by the enactment B.C. 342 of laws that no one's name should be erased from the list against his will, that any person who had served as tribune should not be centurion, that both of the consuls might be appointed from the plebs, and that the same man should not hold two offices at the same time nor hold the same office twice within ten years.

Zonaras 7, 26.

26. Now the Latins, although under treaty with B.C. 340 the Romans, revolted and began war. They were filled with pride for the reason that they had an abundance of youthful warriors and had become thoroughly expert in warfare as a result of their

[1] A fragment of uncertain bearing. Boissevain would refer it to the invasion (μετοίκησις?) of Italy by Alexander of Epirus, Macchioro (*Klio* 10, 356 f.) to the first entrance of the Gauls into Italy (cf. Livy 5, 34). If the fragment is in its proper order in the Ms. it belongs between ca. 370 and 340 B.C.

ἤλπιζον (εὖ γάρ, εἴπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φρονήματα ἠπίσταντο), ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀποτυχόντες[1] *αὐτῶν πρόφασιν ἐγκλημάτων ὡς ἀδικούμενοι λάβωσιν.*—M. 53 (p. 156).

Zonaras 7, 26.

ἤσκηντο. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο γνόντες ἐξῆλθον, ὕπατον τόν τε Τουρκουάτον τὸ τρίτον ἑλόμενοι καὶ τὸν Δέκιον, καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο αὐτοῖς κραταιὰν μάχην, κρίσιν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἑκάτεροι νομίζοντες ἀκριβῆ τῆς σφετέρας τύχης τε καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς. ἔδοξε δὲ περιφανεστέρα ἡ μάχη καὶ διά τι συμβεβηκός. τοὺς γὰρ Λατίνους οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ ὁμοσκεύους καὶ ὁμοφώνους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁρῶντες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινες σφαλῶσι, τό τε οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸ πολέμιον μὴ ῥᾷστα διαγινώσκοντες. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προεῖπον σφίσι τά τε ἄλλα παρατηρεῖν ἀκριβῶς, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν μηδένα μηδενὶ τῶν ἐναντίων συμβαλεῖν. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παράγγελμα οἱ μὲν ἐτήρησαν, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Τουρκουάτου παῖς, στρατευόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, καὶ πεμφθεὶς πρὸς κατασκοπὴν τῶν ἐναντίων, παρεῖδεν, οὐκ αὐθαδείᾳ ἀλλὰ μέντοι φιλοτιμίᾳ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ ἵππαρχος τῶν Λατίνων ἰδὼν αὐτὸν προσιόντα πρὸς μονομαχίαν προεκαλέσατο, καὶ μὴ δεξάμενον ταύτην διὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν, παρώξυνεν εἰπών, "οὐ σὺ μέντοι Τουρκουάτου υἱὸς εἶ; οὐ σεμνύνει τῷ στρεπτῷ τοῦ πατρός; ἢ πρὸς μὲν Γαλάτας ἀνθρώπους φθόρους ἔρρωσθε καὶ ἀνδρίζεσθε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ Λατίνους ἡμᾶς φοβεῖσθε; τί οὖν ἄρχειν ἡμῶν ἀξιοῦτε; τί δ' ὡς χείροσιν ὑμῶν ἐπιτάσσετε;"

[1] *ἀποτυχόντες* Mai, *ἐπιτυχόντες* Ms.

any of them into effect,—for they, if anybody, understood the purposes of the Romans,—but in order that failing to obtain their requests they might secure an excuse for complaints, on the ground that they were being wronged.

Zonaras 7, 26.

constant campaigning with the Romans. The latter, upon learning of this, chose Torquatus consul for the third time along with Decius, and came out to meet them. They fought a fierce battle with them, each side thinking that that day would be an accurate test of their fortune and of their valour. A certain event seemed to give the battle added distinction. The consuls, seeing that the Latins were equipped and spoke like the Romans, feared that some of the soldiers might make mistakes through not distinguishing their own and the hostile force with entire ease. Therefore they made proclamation to their men to observe instructions carefully and in no case to engage in single combat with any of their opponents. The rest observed this injunction, but the son of Torquatus, who was on the field among the cavalry and had been sent to reconnoitre the enemy's position, disregarded it—not through wilfulness, but through zeal. The leader of the Latin horse saw him approaching and challenged him to single combat; and when the youth would not accept the challenge on account of the notice that had been served, he provoked him, saying: "Are you not the son of Torquatus? Do you not give yourself airs because of your father's collar? Or are you Romans strong and courageous against those plaguy Gauls, but fear us Latins? Why, then, do you presume to rule over us? Why

2 Δίωνος ζ' βιβλίῳ "καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε δικαιώσω, ἵνα ὥσπερ τὸ τῆς ἀριστείας ἆθλον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀνηκουστίας τίμημα ἀπολάβῃς."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 133, 19.

4 Ἦν μὲν δὴ παντὶ καταφανὲς ὅτι περισκοπήσαντες τὴν ἔκβασιν τῆς μάχης[1] πρὸς τὸ κρατοῦν ἔστησαν· οὐ μὴν ἐξήλεγξεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Τορκουᾶτος, μή τι οἰδούντων[2] σφίσιν ἔτι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Λατίνους πραγμάτων νεωτερίσωσιν· οὐ γάρ τοι τὰ πάντα τραχύς, οὐδ' οἷος ἐς τὸν υἱὸν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς τἆλλα ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὔβουλος καὶ εὐπόλεμος ὡμολόγητο[3] εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμοίως λέγεσθαι ὅτι τό τε κράτος τοῦ πολέμου ὑποχείριον ἔσχε, καὶ εἰ καὶ τῶν Λατίνων ἡγεῖτο, πάντως ἂν αὐτοὺς νικῆσαι ἐποίησεν.—M. 54 (p. 157) (ἦν . . . ἐς τἆλλα ἦν) and V. 18 (p. 585) (ὅτι ὁ Τορκουᾶτος οὐ τὰ πάντα τραχύς . . . ἐποίησεν).

Zonaras 7, 26.

ἔκφρων ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ τῆς παραγγέλσεως ἑκὼν ἐπελάθετο, καὶ μονομαχήσας ἐνίκησε, καὶ τὰ σκῦλα μέγα φρονῶν ἐκόμισε τῷ πατρί. καὶ ὃς ἀθροίσας τὸ στράτευμα, "γενναίως μέν," ἔφη, "ὦ παῖ, ἐμαχέσω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε στεφανώσω· ὅτι δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν οὐ παρετήρησας, καίτοι καὶ ὡς υἱὸς πειθαρχεῖν καὶ ὡς στρατιώτης ἀναγκαζόμενος, διὰ τοῦτό σε δικαιώσω, ἵνα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀριστείας ἆθλον καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀνηκουστίας τίμημα λήψῃ." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἅμα τόν τε στέφανον

[1] μάχης Bs., τύχης (?) Ms. [2] οἰδούντων Bk., δούντων Ms.
[3] ὡμολόγητο Val., ὡμολογεῖτο Ms.

Dio, Book VII. "And for this reason I shall punish you, in order that even as you have obtained the prize for your prowess, so you may receive the penalty for your disobedience." B.C. 340

It was evident to every one that they had awaited the outcome of the battle and had ranged themselves on the victorious side. Torquatus did not, however, question them about it, for fear they might revolt while relations between the Romans and the Latins were still tense. In fact he was not harsh in all cases nor in most matters the sort of man he had shown himself toward his son; on the contrary, he was admitted to be excellent both in council and in battle, so that it was said by the citizens and by their adversaries alike that he had held in his hands the destiny of the war, and that if he had been leader of the Latins, he would certainly have made them conquer.

Zonaras 7, 26.

do you give orders to us as to your inferiors?" The Roman became frenzied with rage and readily forgot the injunction; he won the combat, and in high spirits conveyed the spoils to his father. The latter, after assembling the army, said: "Nobly you have fought, my son, and for this I will crown you. But because you did not observe the orders issued, though under obligation both as a son and as a soldier to yield obedience, for this reason I shall punish you, that you may obtain both the prize for your prowess and the penalty for your disobedience." With these words he at the same moment placed

9 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καίπερ ἀχθόμενοι τῷ Τορκουάτῳ διά τε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ οὕτως ὥστε καὶ τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν ἔργων μαλλιανὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομάσαι, καὶ διότι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τεθνηκότος μὲν ἐκείνου τεθνηκότος δὲ καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἑώρτασεν, ὅμως ἐπείξαντός ποτε ἑτέρου σφᾶς πολέμου καὶ αὖθις αὐτὸν ἐς τετάρτην ὑπατείαν προεχειρίσαντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄρξαι ἔτ' αὐτῶν ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξωμόσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ὑμῶν ἀνασχοίμην οὔθ' ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ.—M. 55 (p. 157).

Zonaras 7, 26.

τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπέθετο καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἀπέτεμεν.

Εἶτα ὄναρ ἀμφοῖν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ὁμοίως φανὲν ἔδοξε λέγειν τῶν ἐναντίων κρατήσειν, ἂν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδῷ. μεθ' ἡμέραν οὖν ἀλλήλοις τὸ ὄναρ διηγησάμενοι συνέθεντο θεῖον εἶναι, καὶ πεισθῆναι δεῖν αὐτῷ ὡμολόγησαν. ἠμφισβήτησαν δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐχ ὃς ἂν σωθείη, ἀλλ' ὃς ἂν μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδῷ· καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐδικαιολογήσαντο. καὶ τέλος ἤρεσε σφίσι τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ παρατάξασθαι, καὶ ὁπότερον ἂν ἐκείνων ἐλαττωθῇ, τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τεταγμένον ἀποθανεῖν. τοσαύτη δ' ἦν φιλοτιμία αὐτοῖς περὶ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ὡς εὔχεσθαι ἕκαστον τῶν ὑπάτων ἡττηθῆναι, ἵνα τύχῃ τῆς ἐπιδόσεως καὶ τῆς εὐκλείας τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς. συμβαλόντες δὲ τοῖς Λατίνοις μέχρι μὲν πολλοῦ

BOOK VII

Although the Romans were vexed at Torquatus on account of his son to such an extent that they called the harshest deeds "Manlian" after him, and were angry, furthermore, that he had celebrated a triumph in spite of the death of that youth and in spite of the death of his colleague, nevertheless, when another war threatened them, they elected him again to a fourth consulship. But he refused to be their leader longer, and renounced the office, declaring: "I could not endure you nor you me."

Zonaras 7, 26.

the garland on his head and cut off the very head that bore it.

Soon after, a dream that appeared similarly to both consuls the same night seemed to tell them that they should overcome the enemy, if one of the consuls would devote himself. Discussing the dream together in the daytime, they decided that it was of divine origin, and agreed that it must be obeyed. And they disputed with each other, not as to which should be saved, but as to which of them preferably should devote himself; and they even presented their arguments before the foremost men in the camp. Finally they settled it that one should station himself on the right wing and the other on the left, and that whichever of these two divisions should be defeated, the consul stationed there should give up his life. And there was so great rivalry between them in regard to the self-devotion that each of the consuls prayed that he might be defeated, in order to obtain the right to devote himself and the consequent glory. After joining battle with the Latins

7 Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Δίων "θαυμάζω μὲν γὰρ εἰ[1] ὁ θάνατος ὁ τοῦ Δεκίου τὴν μάχην ἀνώρθωσε καὶ τοὺς μὲν νικῶντας ἥττησε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ κρατουμένοις νίκην ἔδωκεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ συμβαλεῖν ἔχω δι' ὃ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τὰ πραχθέντα τισὶν ἐπιλέξωμαι (πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη πολλοῖς τοιαῦτα συνενεχθέντα ἴσμεν), οὐ δύναμαι τοῖς λεγομένοις
8 ἀπιστῆσαι· ὅταν δὲ δὴ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν ἐκλογίσωμαι, καὶ πάνυ ἐς ἀπορίαν καθίσταμαι· πῶς γὰρ ἂν[2] καὶ πιστεύσειέ τις ἐκ τοιαύτης ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδόσεως τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἔς τε τὴν σωτηρίαν ὁμοίως καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν μεταβαλέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπῃ ποτὲ καὶ δι' ἃς αἰτίας οὕτως ἔχει ζητεῖν ἄλλοις μελήσει."—M. 56 (p. 157).

Zonaras 7, 26.

ἰσοπαλῶς ἠγωνίσαντο, εἶτα τὸ κατὰ τὸν Δέκιον κέρας μικρόν τι τοῖς Λατίνοις ἐνέκλινεν. ὃ γνοὺς ὁ Δέκιος ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδέδωκε· καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐκδὺς τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐνέδυ τὴν περιπόρφυρον. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω φασὶν ἐφ' ἵππον ἀναπηδῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εἰσελάσαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ συστρατιώτου πολιτικοῦ σφαγῆναι· τέως δὲ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Δεκίου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡ νίκη καθαρῶς συνηνέχθη, καὶ οἱ Λατῖνοι πάντες ἐτράπησαν, οὐ πάντως δὲ διὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Δεκίου· πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις πιστεύσειεν ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς τοιᾶσδε τελευτῆς τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὲν φθαρῆναι, τὸ δὲ σωθῆναι καὶ

[1] θαυμάζω μὲν γὰρ εἰ Dind., θαυμάζομεν εἰ γὰρ Ms.
[2] ἂν supplied by Bk.

Dio says: "I marvel that the death of Decius should have set the battle right again, and should have defeated the side that was winning and given victory to the men who were getting worsted; and yet I cannot conjecture what did bring about the result. When I reflect what some have accomplished,—for we know that many such experiences have befallen many persons before,—I cannot disbelieve the tradition; but when I calculate their causes, I become involved in a great dilemma. For how is one to believe that by such a sacrifice of a single man so great a multitude of men turned at once to safety and to victory? Well, the truth of the affair and the causes responsible for it shall be left to others to investigate."

Zonaras 7, 26.

they carried on an evenly-balanced struggle for a long time, but finally the wing of Decius gave way before the Latins a little. On perceiving this Decius devoted himself. Slipping off his armour, he put on his purple-bordered clothing. Some say that in this costume he sprang upon a horse and rode toward the enemy and met his death at their hands, others that he was slain by a fellow-soldier of his own race. When Decius had now perished, a decisive victory fell to the Romans and the Latins were all routed—yet certainly not on account of the death of Decius. For how can one believe that from such a death of a single man so great a multitude of human beings was destroyed in the one case and in the other was saved and won a conspicuous

10 Ὅτι ἀνθυπαγόμενοι τοὺς Λατίνους ἐς εὔνοιαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκαν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσι μεταλαμβάνειν· ὧν γὰρ ἀπειλοῦσι τὸν πόλεμον οὐ μετέδοσαν καὶ δι' ἃ τοσούτους κινδύνους ὑπέστησαν, ταῦτα τότε κρατήσαντες αὐτῶν αὐτεπάγγελτοι τούτοις ἐψηφίσαντο, τοὺς μὲν τῆς συμμαχίας, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι μηδὲν ἐνεόχμωσαν ἀμειβόμενοι.—M. 57 (p. 158).

11 Ὅτι διαγνώμην πρὸς Πριουερνάτας[1] ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐρωτήσαντες τί παθεῖν τοιαῦτα δρῶντες ἄξιοι εἶεν· οἱ ἀπεκρίναντο θαρσούντως ὅτι ὅσα χρὴ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὄντας τε καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντας εἶναι. πυθομένου τε αὖθις τοῦ ὑπάτου "καὶ τί ποιήσετε ἂν τῆς εἰρήνης τύχητε;" ἔφασαν ὅτι, ἂν μὲν ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶν αὐτὴν λάβωμεν, ἡσυχάσομεν, ἂν δὲ ἀφόρητόν τι προσταχθῶμεν, πολεμήσομεν. θαυμάσαντες δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν οὐχ ὅπως τὰς σπονδὰς πολὺ βελτίους σφίσι παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔδοσαν . . .—M. 58 (p. 158).

Zonaras 7, 26.

νικῆσαι περιφανῶς; οἱ μὲν οὖν Λατῖνοι οὕτως ἥττηντο, ὁ δέ γε Τουρκουάτος καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκτείνας καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος τεθνηκότος ἑώρτασεν ὅμως τὰ ἐπινίκια.

Εἶτ' αὖθις αὐτούς τε τοὺς Λατίνους ἐπαναστάντας κατεπολέμησαν, καὶ ἕτερα ἔθνη μάχαις ὑπέταξαν, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπάτοις κεχρημένοι, ποτὲ δὲ δικτάτορσιν.

[1] Πριουερνάτας Bk., πριβεννάτας (?) Ms., Πριβερνάτας Mai.

The Romans, by way of bringing the Latins in turn to a condition of friendliness, granted them citizenship, so that they secured equal privileges with themselves. Those rights which they would not share with that nation when it threatened war and for which they underwent so many dangers they voluntarily voted to it now that it had been conquered. Thus they rewarded some for their alliance and others because they had made no move to rebel. B.C. 338

The Romans passed a decree with reference to the inhabitants of Privernum, after first asking them what they deserved to suffer for conduct such as theirs. The others answered boldly: "Whatever is suitable for men who are free and desire so to continue." To the next question of the consul, "And what will you do if you obtain peace?" they replied: "If we receive it on reasonable terms, we will cease from disturbance, but if any intolerable burden is placed upon us, we will fight." Admiring their spirit, the Romans not only made a much more favourable treaty with them than with the rest . . . . B.C. 328

Zonaras 7, 26.

victory? So the Latins in this way were defeated, and Torquatus, though he had killed his son and though his colleague had perished, nevertheless celebrated a triumph.

Once again did they subdue these very Latins, who had revolted, and they subjugated in battle other nations, employing now consuls and now dictators.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VIII

36, 18[b] Δίωνος η' βιβλίῳ "ἦν γὰρ καὶ πάνυ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀρκῶν."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 124, 1.

36, 1 Ἀλλ'[1] εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἀνήκεστοι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τιμωρίαι αὐτούς τε τοὺς δικαιουμένους παραπολλύουσι δυνηθέντας ἂν ἀμείνους γενέσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον σωφρονίζουσιν· ἡ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις οὐκ ἐθέλει ἑαυτῆς πρὸς τὰς
2 ἀπειλὰς ἐξίστασθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ δέους τινὸς ἀνάγκῃ ἢ θάρσους ὕβρει ἀπειρίας τε θρασύτητι καὶ ἐξουσίας προπετείᾳ, ἢ καθ' ἑτέραν τινὰ συντυχίαν, οἷα πολλὰ πολλοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα συμβαίνει, τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ ἐνθυμουμένους τῶν κολάσεων ἀλλ' ἀλογίστως αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ προκείμενον φερομένους, τοὺς δὲ παρ' οὐδὲν αὐτὰς πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν ὧν ὀρέγονται
3 ποιουμένους ἁμαρτάνειν ἀναπείθει. αἱ δὲ ἐμμελεῖς φιλανθρωπίαι τἀναντία αὐτῶν πάντα διαπράτ-

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Zonaras 7, 26.

Ὧν εἷς ἦν καὶ Λούκιος Παπείριος ὁ καὶ Κούρσωρ ὀνομαζόμενος διά τε τὴν ἕξιν, ἦν γὰρ δρομικώτατος, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄσκησιν τὴν τοῦ δρόμου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δικτάτωρ ὁ Παπείριος ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαυνίτας ἐξεπέμφθη μετὰ Φαβίου Ῥούλλου ἱππάρχου,

[1] In the margin the Ms. has ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΔΗΜΗΓΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΡΟΥΛΛΟΥ ("from the speech of Rullus' father.")

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VIII

Dio VIII. "For he was quite self-sufficient in all such matters."[1]

Be well assured that monstrous penalties in such cases not only destroy the culprits under sentence, who might have been made better, but at the same time fail to make others any more prudent. Human nature refuses to leave its regular course for any threats. Some compelling fear or insolent audacity together with courage born of inexperience and rashness sprung from power, or some other combination of circumstances such as often occurs quite unexpectedly in the lives of many, leads men to do wrong. As for the punishments, some of these offenders do not even think of them, but heedlessly rush into the business before them, while others esteem them of no moment in comparison with the attainment of the ends for which they are striving. Wise forbearance, however, produces an effect quite the opposite of that B.C. 325

Zonaras 7, 26.

One of these leaders was Lucius Papirius, also called Cursor from his physical prowess (he was a very fleet runner) and on account of his practising running. After this Papirius, as dictator, with Fabius Rullus, as master of the horse, was sent out against

[1] Said of L. Papirius Cursor or Q. Fabius Maximus; cf. Livy 10, 26.

τουσιν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἐγκαίρου συγγνώμης αὐτοί τε πολλάκις μεταβάλλονται, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅταν ἐξ ἀνδρείας καὶ μὴ κακουργίας, ἐκ φιλοτιμίας καὶ μὴ πονηρίας τι ποιήσωσι (δεινὴ γάρ ἐστι καὶ δουλῶσαι καὶ σωφρονίσαι φρόνημα γενναῖον εὔλογος φιλανθρωπία), καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐθελοντὰς ἅτε καὶ τὸ σεσωσμένον ὁρῶντας μεταρρυθμίζουσι· πείθεται γὰρ πᾶς ἥδιον ἢ βιάζεται, καὶ ἑκούσιος ἀκούειν τοῦ νόμου[1] βούλεται μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνάγκῃ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν αὐθαίρετον ὡς καὶ οἰκεῖον σπουδάζει, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ὡς καὶ ἀνελεύθερον ἀπωθεῖται. —M. 59 (p. 159).

4 Ὅτι τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐστὶν ἔργον οὐ τὸ φονεῦσαί τινα (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων καὶ ἀσθενεστάτων πολλάκις γίγνεται) ἀλλὰ τὸ φείσασθαί τινος καὶ τὸ σῶσαί τινα, ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἡμῶν[2] ἄκοντός γέ σου δύναται.

5 Βούλομαι μὲν ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι λέγων· τό τε γὰρ ψυχίδιόν μου κέκμηκε καὶ τὸ φθέγμα ἐνδίδωσι, τά τε δάκρυα τὴν φωνὴν ἐνίσχει,[3] καὶ ὁ φόβος τὸ στόμα συνδεῖ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἀπαλλαγῶ· τὸ γὰρ πάθος, ἄν γε μὴ ἄλλο τι[4] δόξῃ σοι, μὴ ἐνδοιαστῶς μοι[5] προφαινόμενον, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει μοι σιωπῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦθ' ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν τελευταῖον εἴπω τῆς σωτηρίας μοι τοῦ παιδὸς ἐσομένης, ἀναγκάζει με πλείω ὥσπερ ἐν εὐχαῖς λαλεῖν.—M. 60 (p. 159).

[1] τοῦ νόμου Bk., τὸν νόμον Ms. [2] ἡμῶν Bk., ἡμῖν Ms.
[3] ἐνίσχει v. Herw., ἀνίσχει Ms. [4] ἄν γε μὴ ἄλλο τι Tafel, ἂν . . ἄλλο (?) Ms. [5] ἐνδοιαστῶς μοι Bs., δο . . . Ms.

just mentioned. For through the influence of a seasonable pardon the offenders themselves, in the first place, frequently change their ways, especially when they have acted from brave and not from evil motives, from ambition and not from baseness; for reasonable forbearance is a mighty force for subduing and correcting a noble spirit. Then, too, the rest are brought without resistance into a proper frame of mind by the sight of the rescue. Every one would rather obey than be forced, and prefers voluntary to compulsory observance of the law. That which a man chooses of his own accord he works for as if it were his own affair, but what is imposed upon him he rejects as unbecoming to a freeman.

It is the part of the highest virtue and power alike not to kill a man (this is often done by the wickedest and weakest men), but to spare him and to preserve him; yet no one of us is at liberty to do that without your consent.

It is my wish at length to cease from speaking. My poor spirit is weary, my voice is giving way, tears check my utterance, and fear closes my lips. But I am at a loss how to close. For my sorrow, which appears to me in no doubtful light, does not allow me to be silent,—unless you decide otherwise,—but compels me, as if the safety of my boy would depend upon whatever I say last, to speak even further, as it were in prayers.[1]

[1] From the address of the father of Rullus.

6 Τό τε γὰρ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς περιεβέβλητο ὤκνει καταλῦσαι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔμελλε τοῦ Ῥούλλου φείσεσθαι (τὴν γὰρ σπουδὴν τοῦ δήμου ἑώρα), ἐκείνῳ τε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀντισχὼν χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοὺς νέους ἐπιστρέψαι[1] μᾶλλον, ὥστε ἐξ ἀδοκήτου αὐτῷ συγγνούς, ἠθέλησε. τό τε οὖν πρόσωπον συστρέψας καὶ τὸν δῆμον δριμὺ
7 ὑποβλέψας τὴν φωνὴν ἐνέτεινε καὶ εἶπε. καὶ σιωπὴ μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡσύχαζον, ἀλλ' οἷόν τι φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γίγνεσθαι, αὐτῷ[2] τε ἐπιστένοντες καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τονθορύζοντες ἓν μὲν οὐδὲν λαλοῦντες ἐξηκούοντο, σωθῆναι δὲ δὴ τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐπιθυμεῖν ὑπωπτεύοντο. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Παπίριος καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ[3] καὶ νεοχμώσωσί τι, τοῦ τε πάνυ ἀρχικοῦ, ὅπερ ἐς ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μεῖζον τοῦ καθήκοντος προσεπεποίητο, ὑφῆκε, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μετριάζων ἔς τε φιλίαν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ προθυμίαν αὖθις σφᾶς ἀντικατέστησεν, ὥστε συμβαλόντας τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀνδρίσασθαι.—M. 61 (p. 160).

8 Ὅτι νικηθέντες οἱ Σαυνῖται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαίοις, τούς

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καὶ ἡττήσας αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασεν ἐπὶ συνθήκαις συμβῆναι αἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐβούλετο. ἀποθεμένου δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπανέστησαν αὖθις.

Ὑπὸ δὲ Κορνηλίου Αὔλου δικτάτορος καὶ πάλιν πολεμηθέντες καὶ ἡττηθέντες διεκηρυκεύσαντο

[1] ἐπιστρέψαι Polak, ἐπιτρέψαι Ms.
[2] αὐτῷ Mai., αὐτοὶ Ms. [3] μὴ added by Mai.

He shrank from changing the name and form of the office with which he was invested, and although he was intending to spare Rullus,—for he observed the zeal of the populace,—he wished, by resisting for some time, not only to make the favour the greater to him, but also to correct the young men more effectively as a result of the unexpectedness of the pardon. Therefore he knit his brows, and darting a harsh frowning look at the populace, he raised his voice and spoke.[1] The talking had ceased, but still they were not quiet; instead, as generally happens in such a case, what with groaning over the fate of the master of horse and muttering one to another, although they did not utter a single word, they gave the impression that they desired his preservation. Papirius, seeing this and fearing they might even become mutinous, relaxed the very domineering manner which he had assumed, for the purpose of their correction, to an excessive degree, and by showing moderation in his conduct generally brought them once more to friendship and enthusiasm for him, so that they acquitted themselves like men when they met their opponents. B.C. 325

The Samnites, after their defeat at the hands of the Romans, made proposals for peace to the Romans B.C. 322

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the Samnites and by defeating them compelled them to agree to such terms as he wished. But when he had resigned his command they again rose in arms.

They were attacked anew by the dictator Aulus Cornelius, and being defeated, made proposals for

[1] Dio probably inserted at this point the speech of Papirius; but the Ms. of the excerpts gives no indication of a lacuna.

τε *αἰχμαλώτους, ὅσους εἶχον αὐτῶν, πέμψαντές σφισι, καί τινος Παπίου,*[1] *ἀνδρὸς ἔς τε τὰ πρῶτα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀξιουμένου καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαν φερομένου, τήν τε οὐσίαν καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ, ἐπειδὴ φθάσας ἑαυτὸν προαπεχρήσατο, διαρρίψαντες. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔτυχον τῆς εἰρήνης· ἄπιστοί τε γὰρ δόξαντες εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἐς παράκρουσιν τοῦ ἀεὶ κρατοῦντός σφων σπένδεσθαι, οὐχ ὅσον οὐχ εὕροντό τι συμβατικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄσπονδόν σφισι τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκεύασαν. οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι, καίτοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες, ἀκηρυκτὶ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο.* — U^G 1 (p. 374). Parts also in Suidas *s.vv. παράκρουσιν, οὐχ ὅσον, ἀκηρυκτεί*; cf. also *s.v. ἀξιουμένου.*

10 *Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τὰ τότε γενόμενα· οἵ τε γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ὑπεραυχήσαντες, ὥστε μήτε κήρυκα ἔτι ἐπ' εἰρήνῃ παρὰ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν προσδέχεσθαι ψηφίσασθαι καὶ προσελπίσαι καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς αἱρήσειν, παθή-*

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πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τούς αἰχμαλώτους τε ὅσους εἶχον πέμψαντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου Ῥουτούλῳ, ἀνδρὶ δυνατῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐπιγράφοντες· οὗ τὰ ὀστᾶ, ἐπεὶ φθάσας ἐκεῖνος διεχειρίσατο ἑαυτόν, διέρριψαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔτυχον τῆς εἰρήνης ὡς ἄπιστοι, ἀλλ' ἄσπονδον σφίσιν ἐψήφισαντο πόλεμον, καίτοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες. ὑπεραυχήσαντες οὖν οἱ Ῥω-

[1] Παπίου Leuncl., Παπιρίου Mss.

in the city. They sent them all the Roman captives that they had; and they furthermore ravaged the property of a certain Papius, who was esteemed among the foremost of their race and bore the entire responsibility for the war, and likewise scattered abroad his bones, since he had anticipated their vengeance by committing suicide. Yet they did not obtain the desired peace; for they were regarded as untrustworthy and had the name of making truces in the face of disasters merely for the purpose of cheating any power that conquered them. Hence they not only failed to obtain any terms, but even brought a relentless war upon themselves; for the Romans, though they had received the prisoners, voted to wage implacable war upon them.

Among the many events of human history that might give one cause for wonder must certainly be reckoned what occurred at this time. The Romans, who were so extremely arrogant as to vote that they would not again receive a herald from the Samnites in the matter of peace and moreover expected to B.C 321

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peace to the men at Rome. They sent them all the captives that they had, and ascribed the responsibility for the war to Rutulus [Papius Brutulus], a man of great influence among them; and since he had anticipated their vengeance by destroying himself, they scattered abroad his bones. Yet they did not obtain the desired peace, being accounted untrustworthy; instead, the victors, though they had received the prisoners, voted for relentless war against them. Thus the Romans, expecting in their extreme arrog-

ματι δεινῷ περιέπεσον καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ οἵᾳ οὐ πώποτε ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἄλλως τε ὑπερδείσαντες καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ συμφορᾷ τὸ μὴ σπείσασθαι ποιησάμενοι πανσυδίᾳ τε τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἐζώγρησαν καὶ πάντας ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν ὑπήγαγον· ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τύχη περιέστη.—M. 62 (p. 161).

11 *Αἱ εὐεργεσίαι ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον προαιρέσει εἰσι, καὶ οὔθ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης οὔθ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, οὐκ ὀργῆς, οὐκ ἀπάτης, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τοιούτων γίγνονται, ἀλλ' αὐθαίρετοι παρ' ἑκουσίας καὶ προθύμου τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκτελοῦνται· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα χρὴ τοὺς μὲν πλημμελήσαντάς τι ἐλεεῖν νουθετεῖν παιδεύειν, τοὺς δὲ εὖ ποιήσαντας θαυμάζειν φιλεῖν ἀμείβεσθαι. καὶ ὅταν γε ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν*[1] *ἑκάτερον γένηται, πολύ που μᾶλλον τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἡμῶν*[2] *προσήκει τῶν ἀμεινόνων μνημονεύειν ἢ τῶν ἀτοπωτέρων.*—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 46 (M. p. 535).

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μαῖοι καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς αἱρήσειν ἐλπίσαντες, δεινῷ παθήματι περιέπεσον. ὑπερδείσαντες γὰρ οἱ Σαυνῖται καὶ ἐν συμφορᾷ ποιούμενοι τὸ μὴ σπείσασθαι, καὶ ὡς ἀπεγνωσμένοι μαχόμενοι, καὶ λοχήσαντες ἔν τινι χώρᾳ κοιλοτέρᾳ καὶ στενῇ, τό τε στρατόπεδον εἷλον

[1] αὐτῶν Bk., ἀνθρώπων Mss.
[2] ἡμῶν A, ὑμῶν B.

capture them all at the first blow, succumbed to a terrible disaster and incurred disgrace as never before; while the enemy, who were badly frightened to begin with, and thought their failure to gain terms a great calamity, captured alive the entire Roman army, and sent them all under the yoke. So great a reversal of fortune did they experience.

Benefits lie rather within the actual choice of men and are not brought about by necessity, or by ignorance, or anger, or deceit, or anything of the sort, but are performed voluntarily by a willing and eager mind. For this reason it is proper to pity, admonish, and instruct those who commit any offence, but to admire, love, and reward those who do right. And whenever both kinds of treatment are received from the same individuals, it is decidedly more befitting our characters to remember their good rather than their disagreeable actions.[1]

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ance to capture them all at the first blow, succumbed to a terrible disaster. For the Samnites, who were badly frightened and thought their failure to gain terms a calamity, fought with desperation; and by planting an ambuscade in a rather narrow valley they both captured the camp and seized alive the whole

[1] See note on p. 259.

12 *Ὅτι αἱ διαφοραὶ εὐεργεσίαις παύονται· καὶ ὅσῳ ἄν τις ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἔχθρας ἐλθὼν σωτηρίας ἀντὶ τιμωρίας παρὰ δόξαν τύχῃ, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκείνην τε ἑκὼν καταλύει καὶ ταύτης ἄσμενος ἡττᾶται· ὅσῳ τε τῶν ἄλλως πως διενεχθέντων οἱ ἐκ φιλίας ἐς ἔχθραν χωρήσαντες μισοῦσιν ἀλλήλους, ἐπὶ πλεῖον καὶ τῶν ἄλλως πως εὐεργετηθέντων οἱ ἐκ διαφορᾶς εὖ παθόντες φιλοῦσι τοὺς πεποιηκότας. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οὖν βούλονται μὲν καὶ μάλα πολέμῳ*[1] *κρατιστεύειν, προσέτι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀρετὴν τιμῶσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἠναγκασμένοι τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς γενναιότητι τὸ κρατεῖν ἐπικερδαίνουσι, σπουδάζοντες ἀεὶ τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς ὁμοίοις καθ' ὑπερβολὰς ἀμύνεσθαι.*—M. 63 (p. 161).

13 *Μέγα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἀδικήσαντάς τι ἀμύνασθαι δεῖ φρονεῖν, μείζω δὲ δόξαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς εὐεργετήσαντάς τι ἀμείβεσθαι ἔχειν.*—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 46ᵛ (M. p. 536).

14 *Πεφύκασι γὰρ*[2] *πάντες ἄνθρωποι πλέον ἀλγεῖν ὧν ἂν ἀτιμασθῶσιν ἢ χαίρειν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν εὐεργετηθῶσι, καὶ ῥᾷόν γε ἐπεξέρχονται τοῖς τι λυπήσασί σφας ἢ ἀνθυπουργοῦσι τοῖς εὖ ποιήσασι, τήν τε*[3] *κακοδοξίαν τοῦ τὸν σώσαντα μὴ δι' εὐνοίας ποιήσασθαι παρ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τὰ συμφέροντα αὑτῶν τιθέμενοι, καὶ τῷ θυμουμένῳ καὶ παρὰ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν σφων χαριζόμενοι.*

[1] *μὲν καὶ μάλα πολέμῳ* Bk., *ἂν καὶ ἅμα πολέμῳ* Mai, Ms. now illegible. [2] *πεφύκασι γὰρ* flor., *ὅτι πεφύκασι* palimps. [3] *τε* Bk., *δὲ* Ms.

Quarrels are ended by kindness. The greater the pitch of enmity to which a man has come when he unexpectedly meets with safety instead of vengeance, the more eagerly does he abandon the quarrel and the more gladly does he yield to the influence of kindness. And just as among persons at variance for one reason or another those who have passed from friendship to enmity hate each other with the more intense hatred, so among recipients of kindness those who have experienced this considerate treatment after a state of strife love their benefactors with the stronger affection. Now the Romans are very anxious to surpass in war, and at the same time they honour virtue; and so, impelled by their nobility of spirit, they gain success in both, since they take pains to return like treatment for like, with interest.[1]

Now it is quite right to take pride in requiting those who have done us some injury, but we ought to gain greater honour from rewarding those who have conferred some benefit.[1]

All men are by nature so constituted as to grieve more over insults offered them than they rejoice over benefits conferred upon them; therefore they attack those who have injured them more readily than they requite those who have shown them kindness. They take no account, when their own advantage is concerned, of the evil reputation they will get by not adopting a friendly attitude toward their preserver, but indulge their wrath even when such behaviour runs counter to their own interest.[1]

[1] Sections 11, 12, and 13 appear to come from various speeches delivered at the Caudine Forks; section 14 is clearly from the speech of Herennius Pontius.

Τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς παρά τε τῆς ἐμφύτου φρονήσεως καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ γήρως ἐμπειρίας οὐ τὸ αὐτίκα κεχαρισμένον ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔπειτα ἀλγεινὸν προσκοπῶν παρῄνεσεν.—M. 64 (p. 162) and *πεφύκασι γὰρ πάντες—ποιήσασιν* Max. Conf. Flor. f. 46v (M. p. 536).

15 *Ὅτι οἱ Καπυηνοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡττηθέντων καὶ ἐς Καπύην ἐλθόντων οὔτ' εἶπον αὐτοὺς δεινὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔπραξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφὴν καὶ ἵππους αὐτοῖς ἔδωκαν καὶ ὡς κεκρατηκότας ὑπεδέξαντο· οὓς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐβούλοντο διὰ τὰ προγεγονότα σφίσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν νενικηκέναι, τούτους κακοτυχήσαντας*[1] *ἠλέησαν.* 16 *οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι*

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καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐζώγρησαν πανσυδὶ καὶ πάντας ὑπήγαγον ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγόν (τί δ' ἦν τὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ ἤδη μοι ἄνωθέ που ἱστόρηται), οὐδένα μέντοι ἀπέκτειναν, ἀλλὰ τά τε ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα εἶχον πλὴν ἑνὸς ἱματίου ἀφείλοντο, καὶ γυμνοὺς σφᾶς ἀφῆκαν ἐπὶ συνθήκαις τοῦ τε τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ συμμάχους σφίσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης εἶναι. ἵνα δὲ τὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας βεβαιωθῶσι, τῶν ἱππέων ἑξακοσίους εἰς ὁμηρείαν κατέσχον.

Οἱ δ' ὕπατοι Σπούριός τε Ποστούμιος καὶ Τιβέριος Καλουῖνος μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ νυκτὸς αὐτοί τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσῆλθοσαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατιῶται κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐσκεδά-

[1] *τούτους κακοτυχήσαντας* Gros, *τούτοις κακοτυχήσασιν* Ms.

Such was the advice he gave them out of his own inherent good sense and experience acquired in a long life; for he had regard, not to what might gratify them at the moment, but to what might cause them sorrow in the future.

The people of Capua, when the Romans after their defeat arrived in that city, were guilty of no bitter speech or outrageous act, but on the contrary gave them both food and horses and received them like victors. They pitied in their misfortune the men whom they would not have wished to see conquer on account of the treatment those same persons had formerly accorded them. When the Romans heard

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force of the Romans, all of whom they sent under the yoke. The nature of the yoke has already been described by me above [7, 17]. They killed none of them, however, but took away their arms and horses and everything else they had save one garment, and released them, thus stripped of their possessions, under an agreement that they should leave Samnite territory and be their allies on an equal footing. And in order to make sure that the articles of the agreement were ratified also by the senate, they retained six hundred of the knights as hostages.

The consuls Spurius Postumius and Tiberius[1] Calvinus with their army immediately withdrew, and at night they and the other more prominent officers entered Rome, while the surviving soldiers scattered through the country districts. The men in the city

[1] Apparently an error of Zonaras for Titus.

ὡς τὰ πεπραγμένα ἤκουσαν, ἄποροι πανταχόθεν ἐγένοντο, μήθ' ὅπως ἡσθῶσι τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίᾳ μήθ' ὅπως ἀχθεσθῶσιν ἔχοντες· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεινὸν τῆς αἰσχύνης ὑπερήλγουν, ἀπαξιοῦντες ἄλλως τε τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν πεπονθέναι, καὶ ἐβούλοντο ἂν πάντες αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλέναι, ἐκλογιζόμενοι δὲ ὅτι, εἴπερ τι τοιοῦτον συνεβεβήκει σφίσι, κἂν[1] περὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν ἐκινδύνευσαν, οὐκ ἀκουσίως ἤκουον ὅτι ἐσώθησαν.—M. 65 (p. 162).

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σθησαν. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ πεπραγμένα μαθόντες οὔτε ἡσθῆναι τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίᾳ οὔτ' ἀχθεσθῆναι ἠδύναντο. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεινὸν ὑπερήλγουν, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν τοιαῦτα πεπόνθασι, μεῖζον σφίσι τὸ ἄλγος ἐγίνετο· λογιζόμενοι δὲ ὡς εἰ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι συνέβη, καὶ περὶ πάντα ἂν ἐκινδύνευσαν, ἐπὶ τῇ σφῶν ἥδοντο σωτηρίᾳ. ἐπικρύπτοντες δὲ τέως τὸ ἥδεσθαι, πένθος ἐπεποιήκεσαν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι τρόπῳ ἔπραξαν, οὔτ' αὐτίκα οὔθ' ὕστερον, ἕως ἀντεπεκράτησαν· τοὺς δ' ὑπάτους μὲν παραχρῆμα ἔπαυσαν, ἑτέρους δ' ἀνθελόμενοι βουλὴν ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ ἐδόκει μὲν σφίσι μὴ δέξασθαι τὴν σύμβασιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀδύνατον ἦν τοῦτο δρᾶσαι μὴ οὐχὶ πρὸς τοὺς πράξαντας αὐτὴν τρέψαντας τὴν αἰτίαν, ὤκνουν μὲν τῶν ὑπάτων καταψηφίσασθαι

[1] κἂν St., καὶ Ms.

of the affair, they were thoroughly embarrassed, finding themselves unable either to feel pleased at the survival of their soldiers or yet to feel displeased. When they thought of the calamitous disgrace, their grief was extreme, for they regarded it as particularly shameful to have met with this defeat at the hands of the Samnites, and they could wish that all their men had perished; when they stopped to reflect, however, that if such a disaster had befallen them they would have been in danger of losing all the rest as well, they were not sorry to hear that the men had been saved.

Zonaras 7, 26.

on learning of the affair were unable either to feel pleased at the survival of their soldiers or yet to feel displeased. When they thought of the calamity, their grief was extreme, and the fact that they had suffered such a defeat at the hands of the Samnites increased their grief; when they stopped to consider, however, that if it had come to pass that all had perished, they would have been in danger of losing everything, they were really pleased at the survival of their men. But concealing for a time their satisfaction, they went into mourning and carried on no business in the usual manner either then or later until they in their turn were victorious. The consuls they deposed forthwith, chose others in their stead, and took counsel about the situation. B.C. 320
And they determined not to accept the arrangement; but since it was impossible to take this action without placing the responsibility upon the men who had conducted the negotiations, they hesitated, on the one hand, to condemn the consuls and the

17 *Ὅτι τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἑαυτῶν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἀνεμέσητόν ἐστι προνοεῖσθαι, κἂν ἐν κινδύνῳ τινὶ καταστῶσι, πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὥστε σωθῆναι πράττειν.*—M. 66 (p. 163).

Ὅτι συγγνώμη καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων δίδοται τοῖς ἀκουσιόν τι πράξασιν.—M. 67 (*ib.*).

18[a] *Δίων η' βιβλίῳ "καὶ προσποιοῦμαι τὸ ἀδίκημα καὶ ὁμολογῶ τὴν ἐπιορκίαν."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 165, 13.

Zonaras 7, 26.

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἳ μετ' αὐτῶν ὡς ἀρχάς τινας ἄρχοντες τὰς σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ὤκνουν δὲ καὶ ἀφεῖναι, ἵνα μὴ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς τὸ παρασπόνδημα περιστήσωσιν. αὐτοῖς οὖν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπεκοινώσαντο, καὶ πρώτῳ γε τῷ Ποστουμίῳ *τὴν ψῆφον ἐπήγαγον, ὅπως αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀποφήνηται, αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ μὴ πάντας ἀδοξίας ἀναπλῆσαι. ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἔφη μὴ δεῖν κυρωθῆναι τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπραγμένα παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου· μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἑκουσίως πρᾶξαι αὐτά, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ συνεχομένους, ἣν αὐτοῖς ἐπήγαγον οἱ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἐξ ἀρετῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκ δόλου καὶ ἐξ ἐνέδρας. οἱ γοῦν ἀπατήσαντες, εἰ ἀντηπατήθησαν, οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο δικαίως ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς ἀνταπατήσασι. ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰπόντος καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλά, ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ἡ γερουσία ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ* Ποστουμίου *καὶ τοῦ* Καλουίνου *εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναδεχομένων,*

It is requisite and blameless for all men to plan for their own safety, and if they get into any danger, to do anything whatsoever in order to be saved. B.C. 320

Pardon is granted both by gods and men to those who have committed any act involuntarily.

Dio, Book VIII. "I both take upon myself the crime and admit the perjury."

Zonaras 7, 26.

others associated with them, who, in their capacity as holders of certain offices, had made the truce, and they hesitated, on the other hand, to acquit them, since by so doing they would bring the breach of faith home to themselves. Accordingly they made these consuls themselves participate in their deliberations; and they asked Postumius first of all for his opinion, in order that he might pronounce judgment against himself, through shame at the thought of bringing reproach upon them all. So he came forward and said that their acts ought not to be ratified by the senate and the people, since they themselves had not acted of their own free will, but under the compulsion of a necessity which the enemy had brought upon them, not through valour, but through treachery and ambuscade. Now men who had practised deception could not, if they had been deceived in turn, have any just complaint against those who turned the tables on them. When he had expressed these sentiments and many more of the same nature, the senate found itself at a loss how to act; but inasmuch as Postumius and Calvinus

19 *Ὅτι οἱ Σαυνῖται ὁρῶντες μήτε τὰς συνθήκας σφίσι τηρουμένας μήτε ἄλλην χάριν ἀντιδιδομένην, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἐς παραγωγὴν τῶν ὅρκων ἐκδιδομένους, δεινῶς ἠγανάκτησαν, ἐπεθείαζόν[1] τέ τινα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβοώμενοι καὶ τὰς πίστεις αὐτῶν προφερόμενοι, καὶ ἀπῄτουν τοὺς ἁλόντας, ἐκέλευόν τε αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν ζυγὸν γυμνοὺς ἐσελθεῖν οὗπερ ἐλεηθέντες ἀφείθησαν, ἵνα καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μάθωσι[2] τοῖς ἅπαξ ὁμολογη-*
20 *θεῖσιν ἐμμένειν. καὶ ἀντέπεμψαν τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας, εἴτ' οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἠξίωσάν σφας μηδὲν ἠδικηκότας ἀπολέσαι, ἢ ὅτι τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἐπιορκίαν προσάψαι ἠθέλησαν καὶ μὴ δι' ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν κολάσεως τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολῦσαι. ταῦτ' ἔπραξαν ἐλπίσαντες ἐκ τούτων ἐπιεικές τι εὑρήσεσθαι.*—M. 68 (p. 163).

21 *Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς Σαυνίταις οὐχ ὅτι χάριν τινὰ τῆς γοῦν τῶν ἐκδοθέντων σωτηρίας ἔσχον,*

Zonaras 7, 26.

ἐψηφίσθη μήτε κυρωθῆναι τὰ ὡμολογημένα ἐκείνους τε ἐκδοθῆναι.

Ἀπήχθησαν οὖν καὶ ἄμφω οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις παρουσιάσαντες εἰς τὸ Σαύνιον. οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὺς οἱ Σαυνῖται ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἁλόντας ἀπῄτουν ἅπαντας, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπεβοῶντο καὶ ἐπεθείαζον, καὶ τέλος τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας ἀντέπεμψαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκείνους μὲν ἀσμένως ἀπέλαβον, τοῖς δὲ Σαυνίταις

[1] *ἐπεθείαζόν* Gros, . . . *αζον* Ms.
[2] *μάθωσι* v. Herw., . . . *σι* Ms.

BOOK VIII

The Samnites, seeing that neither the terms were observed by the Romans nor gratitude manifested in any other way, and that few men instead of many were surrendered, in violation of the oaths, became terribly angry and conjured the Romans in the name of the gods; and reminding them of their pledges, they demanded back the captives and ordered them to pass naked under the same yoke from which through pity they had been released, in order that by experience they might learn to abide by terms which had once been agreed upon. They sent back those who had been surrendered, either because they did not think it right to destroy these guiltless men or because they wished to fasten the perjury upon the populace and not through the punishment of a few men to absolve the rest. This they did, hoping as a result to secure decent treatment.

The Romans, so far from being grateful to the Samnites for the preservation of the surrendered

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Zonaras 7, 26.

took the responsibility upon themselves, it was voted that the agreement should not be ratified and that these men should be delivered up.

Both the consuls, therefore, and the other officials who had been present when the oaths were taken were conducted back to Samnium. But the Samnites did not accept them; instead, they demanded back all the captives, and conjured the Romans in the name of the gods, and finally they sent back the men who had been surrendered. The Romans were glad enough to get them back, but

ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τι δεινὸν ἐκ τούτου παθόντες ὀργῇ τε τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ κρατήσαντες τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοὺς[1] ἀντειργάσαντο· τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου τῷ νομιζομένῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὡς πλήθει κρίνεται, οὐδ' ἀνάγκη τίς ἐστι νικᾶν τοὺς ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν τά τε ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος συμφέρον τίθεται καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου νόμισιν ἐς τοὐναντίον πολλάκις περιίστησιν.—M. 69 (p. 163).

22 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Σαυνιτῶν κρατήσαντες τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν ἀνθυπήγαγον, ἐξαρκεῖν σφίσι νομίσαντες τὴν τῆς ὁμοίας αἰσχύνης ἀνταπόδοσιν. οὕτω μὲν ἡ τύχη πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία αὐτοῖς[2] ἀμφοτέροις ἐν βραχυτάτῳ[3] περιστᾶσα, καὶ τοὺς Σαυνίτας ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὑβρισθέντων τὰ αὐτὰ ἀντιποιήσασα, διέδειξε καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ὅλον αὐτὴ δυναμένη.—M. 70 (p. 164).

23 Ὅτι ὁ Παπίριος στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαυνίτας καὶ καταστήσας αὐτοὺς ἐς πολιορκίαν προσήδρευέ σφισι. κἀν τούτῳ ὀνειδίσαντός τινος αὐτῷ ὅτι οἴνῳ πολλῷ ἐχρῆτο, ἔφη ὅτι τὸ μὲν

Zonaras 7, 26.

ὀργῇ τὴν μάχην ἐπήγαγον. καὶ κρατήσαντες τὰ ὅμοια σφίσιν ἐποίησαν καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοὺς ἀνθυπήγαγον καὶ ἀφῆκαν, μηδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν δράσαντες. καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἱππεῖς, οὓς ὡς ὁμήρους κατεῖχον οἱ Σαυνῖται, ἀπαθεῖς ἐκομίσαντο.

[1] αὐτοὺς Bk., αὐτοῖς Ms. [2] αὐτοῖς Bk., τοῖς Ms.
[3] ἐν βραχυτάτῳ Cary, ἐς βραχύτατον Ms.

soldiers, actually behaved as if they had in this affair suffered some outrage. In their anger they continued the war, and upon vanquishing the Samnites accorded them the same treatment in their turn. For the justice of the battle-field does not, as a rule, fit the ordinary definition of the word, and it is not inevitable that those wronged should conquer; instead, war, in its absolute sway, adjusts everything to the advantage of the victor, often causing something that is the reverse of justice to go under that name.

The Romans after vanquishing the Samnites sent the captives in their turn under the yoke, regarding as satisfactory to their honour a repayment of similar disgrace. Thus did Fortune in the case of both peoples in the briefest time reverse her position, and, by treating the Samnites to the same humiliation at the hands of these same outraged foes, show clearly that here, too, she was all-supreme.

Papirius made a campaign against the Samnites, B.C. 319
and after reducing them to a state of siege, was entrenched before them. At this time some one reproached him with excessive use of wine, where-

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Zonaras 7, 26.

were angry at the Samnites, and attacked them in battle; and vanquishing them, they meted out to them treatment similar to that which they had received: they sent them under the yoke in their turn and released them without inflicting any other injury. They also received back unharmed their own knights, who had been held by the Samnites as hostages.

μὴ εἶναί με μεθυστικὸν παντί που δῆλον ἔκ τε τοῦ πρωιαίτατά με ὀρθρεύεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὀψιαίτατα καταδαρθάνειν ἐστίν· διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰ[1] *κοινὰ ἀεὶ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ὁμοίως ἐν φροντίδι ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι ῥᾳδίως ὕπνου λαχεῖν, τὸν οἶνον κατακοιμήσοντά*[2] *με παραλαμβάνω.*—M. 71 (p. 164).

24 *Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐφοδεύων ποτὲ τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ μὴ εὑρὼν τὸν Πραινεστίνων στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ τάξει ὄντα ἠγανάκτησεν, εἶτα μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε τῷ ῥαβδούχῳ τὸν πέλεκυν προχειρίσασθαι· ἐκπλαγέντος τε αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ καταδείσαντος, τῷ τε φόβῳ αὐτοῦ ἠρκέσθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν αὐτὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ ῥίζας τινὰς παρὰ τὰ σκηνώματα οὔσας ἐκκόψαι τῷ ῥαβδούχῳ, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς παριόντας λυπῶσι, προσέταξεν.*—M. 72 (*ib.*).

25 *Ὅτι αἱ εὐπραγίαι οὐ πάνυ τοῖς πολλοῖς παραμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συχνοὺς ἐς ἀφυλαξίαν παραγαγοῦσαι φθείρουσιν.*—M. 73 (p. 165).

Zonaras 8, 1.

1. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους πλείονας αὖθις τοῖς Σαυνίταις πολεμοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Γαΐου Ἰουνίου ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν, συμφορᾷ περιέπεσον. πορθοῦντος γὰρ τοῦ Ἰουνίου τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, εἰς τὰς ὕλας τὰς Ἀόρνους τὰ προσόντα οἱ Σαυνῖται ἀνεκομίσαντο, οὕτω καλουμένας ἀπὸ τοῦ μηδ' ὄρνις εἰσπέτεσθαι εἰς αὐτὰς τῇ τῶν δένδρων πυκνότητι. ἐκεῖ δὲ ὄντες, ποίμνιά τινα ποιμένων

[1] τὸ τὰ Bk., τὰ Ms.
[2] κατακοιμήσοντά St., κατακοιμήσαντά Ms.

upon he replied: "That I am not a drunkard is clear to every one from the fact that I am up at the peep of dawn and lie down to rest latest of all. But on account of having public affairs on my mind day and night alike, and not being able to obtain sleep easily, I take the wine to lull me to rest."

The same man one day while making the rounds of the garrison became angry on not finding the general from Praeneste at his post. He summoned him and bade the lictor make ready his axe. When the general thereupon became alarmed and terrified, his fear sufficed for Papirius; he harmed him no further, but merely commanded the lictor to cut off some roots growing beside the tents, so that they should not injure passers-by.

Success is not at all constant in the case of most men, but leads many aside into carelessness and ruins them.[1]

Zonaras 8, 1.

1. After a number of years the Romans, under the leadership of Gaius Junius, were again warring with the Samnites, when they met with disaster. While Junius was pillaging their territory the Samnites conveyed their possessions into the Avernian woods, so called because on account of their denseness not even the birds fly into them.[2] And having taken refuge there, they stationed some flocks in front of their position without shepherds B.C. 311

[1] Cp. Livy 9, 18, 8.
[2] The Greek name (*Aornos*) means "birdless."

26 Ὅτι Παπίριον δικτάτορα προεβάλοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ ὁ Ῥοῦλλος οὐκ ἐθελήσῃ αὐτὸν διὰ τὰ συμβάντα οἱ ἐν τῇ ἱππαρχίᾳ εἰπεῖν, ἔπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν δεόμενοι τὰ[1] κοινὰ πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἔχθρας προτιμῆσαι. καὶ ὃς τοῖς μὲν πρέσβεσιν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπειδὴ δὲ νὺξ ἐγένετο (νυκτὸς γὰρ πάντως ἐκ τῶν πατρίων τὸν δικτάτορα ἔδει λέγεσθαι), εἶπέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὔκλειαν ἐκ τούτου μεγίστην ἔλαβεν.—V. 19 (p. 585).

27 Ὅτι Ἄππιος ὁ τυφλὸς καὶ ὁ Οὐολούμνιος[2] διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἀφ' οὗπερ Οὐολούμνιος τοῦ Ἀππίου προενεγκόντος ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι σοφώτερος ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ γεγονὼς οὐδεμίαν οἱ χάριν εἰδείη, αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ γεγονέναι οὕτως σοφώτερος καὶ ὁμολογεῖν τοῦτ' ἔφη, ἐκεῖνον δὲ μηδὲν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράγματα ἐπιδεδωκέναι.—M. 74 (p. 165).

Zonaras 8, 1.

ἢ φρουρῶν ἄνευ προκαθιστάντες καὶ ψευδαυτομόλους ὑποπέμποντες, ὡς ἐφ' ἑτοίμην λείαν αὐτοὺς ὑπηγάγοντο· εἴσω δὲ γενομένους τῆς ὕλης περιέσχον τε σφᾶς καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο κτείνοντες πρὶν τέλεον ἐκκαμεῖν.

Καὶ ἄλλοτε δὲ πολλάκις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολεμήσαντες οἱ Σαυνῖται καὶ ἡττηθέντες οὐκ ἐφησύχασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμάχους ἄλλους τε προσλαβόμενοι καὶ Γαλάτας, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὴν ἐλάσοντες ἡτοιμάζοντο. ὃ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι

[1] τὰ Val., οὐ τὰ Ms. [2] Οὐολούμνιος Bk., βολούμνιος Ms.

BOOK VIII

The men of the city put forward Papirius as dictator, and fearing that Rullus might be unwilling to name him on account of his own experiences while master of the horse, they sent to him and begged him to place the common weal before his private grudge. Now he gave the envoys no response, but when night had come, (according to ancient custom it was absolutely necessary that the dictator be appointed at night), he named Papirius, and by this act gained the greatest renown. B.C. 310

Appius the Blind and Volumnius became at variance with each other; and it was owing to this that Volumnius once, when Appius charged him in the assembly with showing no gratitude for the progress he had made in wisdom through his [Appius'] instruction, replied that he had indeed grown wiser, as stated, and that he furthermore admitted the fact, but that Appius had not advanced at all in the science of war. B.C. 296

Zonaras 8, 1.

or guards, and then secretly sent some pretended deserters who guided the Romans to the booty apparently lying at their disposal. But when the latter had entered the wood, the Samnites surrounded them and slaughtered them until completely exhausted.

And though the Samnites fought on many other occasions against the Romans and were defeated, they did not remain quiet; instead, they secured the Gauls and others as allies, and made preparations to march upon Rome itself. The Romans,

28 Ὅτι ὁ ὅμιλος περὶ τῆς μαντείας παραχρῆμα μὲν οὔθ' ὅπως πιστεύσῃ οὔθ' ὅπως ἀπιστήσῃ αὐτῷ

Zonaras 8, 1.

μαθόντες ἐς δέος κατέστησαν, καὶ σημείων πολλῶν ἐς τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἐναγόντων. ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς αἷμα τρισὶν ἡμέραις, μιᾷ δὲ μέλι καὶ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ γάλα θρυλλεῖται ἀναδοθῆναι, εἴ τῳ ταῦτα πιστά· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Νίκης τι ἄγαλμα χάλκεον ἱδρυμένον ἐπὶ βάθρου λιθίνου αὐτομάτως εὑρέθη κάτω ἑστὸς ἐπὶ γῆς· ἐτύγχανε δὲ ἐκεῖ ἀποβλέπον ὅθεν οἱ Γαλάται ἤδη ἐπῄεσαν. ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ ἄλλως ἐξεφόβει τὸν δῆμον, πλέον δ' ὑπὸ τῶν μάντεων κεκριμένα ἀπαίσια. Μάνιος δέ τις Τυρσηνὸς τὸ γένος ἐθάρσυνεν αὐτούς, εἰπὼν τήν τε Νίκην, εἰ καὶ κατέβη, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προχωρήσασαν καὶ βεβαιότερον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἱδρυθεῖσαν τὸ κράτος σφίσι προδηλοῦν τοῦ πολέμου· κἀκ τούτου καὶ θυσίας πολλὰς γενήσεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς· τοὺς γὰρ βωμούς, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ νικητήρια θύουσιν, ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς κατ' ἔθος αἱμάττεσθαι. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀγαθόν τι σφᾶς ἔπειθε προσδοκᾶν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μέλιτος νόσον, ὅτι αὐτοῦ οἱ κάμνοντες δέονται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γάλακτος λιμόν· ἐς γὰρ τοσαύτην σιτοδείαν ἀφίξεσθαι ὥστε καὶ τὴν αὐτόφυτον τήν τε αὐτόνομον ζητῆσαι τροφήν.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάνιος οὕτω τὰ τῶν σημείων

BOOK VIII

In regard to the prophecy the multitude was not capable for the time being of either believing or

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when they learned of this, were in a state of alarm, particularly since many portents were causing them anxiety. On the Capitol blood is reported to have issued for three days from the altar of Jupiter, also honey on one day and milk on another—if anybody can believe it; and in the Forum a bronze statue of Victory set upon a stone pedestal was found standing on the ground below, without any one's having moved it; and, as it happened, it was facing in that direction from which the Gauls were already approaching. This of itself was enough to terrify the populace, who were even more dismayed by ill-omened interpretations of the seers. However, a certain Manius, by birth an Etruscan, encouraged them by declaring that Victory, even if she had descended, had at any rate gone forward, and being now established more firmly on the ground, indicated to them mastery in the war. Accordingly, many sacrifices, too, would be offered to the gods; for their altars, and particularly those on the Capitol, where they sacrifice thank-offerings for victory, were regularly stained with blood on the occasion of Roman successes and not in times of disaster. From these circumstances, then, he persuaded them to expect some fortunate outcome, but from the honey to expect disease, since invalids crave it, and from the milk, famine; for they should encounter so great a scarcity of provisions that they would seek for food of natural and spontaneous origin.

Manius, then, interpreted the omens in this way,

εἶχεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐλπίζειν πάντα ἐβούλετο, ὅτι μηδὲ γενέσθαι[1] πάντα ἤθελεν, οὔτ'[2] αὖ[3] ἀπιστεῖν ἅπασιν ἐτόλμα, ὅτι νικῆσαι ἐπεθύμει, ἀλλ' οἷα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε εὐχῆς[4] καὶ τοῦ φόβου ὢν χαλεπώτατα διῆγεν. συμβάντων δ' αὐτῶν ὡς ἑκάστων καὶ τὴν ἑρμήνευσίν σφισιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἔργων πείρας ἐφήρμοσαν, καὶ αὐτὸς σοφίας τινὰ δόξαν ἐς τὴν τοῦ[5] ἀφανοῦς πρόγνωσιν προσποιεῖσθαι ἐπεχείρει.—M. 75 (p. 165).

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ἡρμήνευσε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δ' ἐσύστερον τῆς αὐτοῦ μαντείας ἐκβάσης, σοφίας ἐκομίσατο δόξαν καὶ προγνώσεως· ὁ δὲ Οὐολούμνιος τοῖς Σαυνίταις πολεμεῖν ἐκελεύσθη, τοῖς δὲ Γαλάταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν ἀντικαταστῆναι ὕπατοι αἱρεθέντες ἐπέμφθησαν ὅ τε Ῥοῦλλος ὁ Φάβιος ὁ Μάξιμος καὶ ὁ Δέκιος ὁ Πούπλιος. οἳ πρὸς τὴν Τυρσηνίδα σπουδῇ ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀππίου στρατόπεδον ἰδόντες διπλῷ σταυρώματι κατωχυρωμένον, τοὺς σταυροὺς ἀνέσπασάν τε καὶ διεφόρησαν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας τοὺς στρατιώτας διδάσκοντες. προσέβαλον οὖν τοῖς πολεμίοις· κἀν τούτῳ λύκος ἔλαφον διώκων εἰς τὸ μεταίχμιον εἰσπεσὼν αὐτὸς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁρμήσας διεξῆλθε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπεθάρσυνε, προσήκειν αὐτὸν νομίζοντας ἑαυτοῖς, ὡς λυκαίνης θρεψαμένης τὸν Ῥωμύλον, καθάπερ ἱστόρηται· ἡ δ' ἔλαφος πρὸς τοὺς

[1] γενέσθαι πάντα Mai, γενέσθω πάντων Ms.
[2] οὔτ' Mai, ὅτ' ἂν Ms.
[3] αὖ St., ἂν Ms.
[4] τε εὐχῆς Polak, ταραχῆς Ms.
[5] τὴν τοῦ Bs., τὴν Ms.

disbelieving him [Manius]. It neither wished to hope for everything, inasmuch as it did not desire to see everything fulfilled, nor did it dare to refuse belief in all points inasmuch as it wished to be victorious, but was placed in an extremely painful position, distracted as it was between hope and fear. As each single event occurred the people applied the interpretation to it according to the actual result, and the man himself undertook to assume some reputation for skill with regard to foreknowledge of the unseen.

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and as his prophecy turned out to be in accordance with subsequent events, he gained a reputation for skill and foreknowledge. Now Volumnius was ordered to make war upon the Samnites, while Fabius Maximus Rullus and Publius Decius were B.C. 29
chosen consuls and were sent to withstand the Gauls and their fellow-warriors. And when the consuls had come with speed to Etruria, and had seen the camp of Appius, which was fortified by a double palisade, they pulled up the stakes and carried them off, instructing the soldiers to place their hope of safety in their weapons. So they joined battle with the enemy. Meanwhile a wolf in pursuit of a hind entered the space between the two armies, and darting toward the Romans, passed through their ranks. This encouraged them, for they looked upon him as belonging to themselves, since, according to tradition, a she-wolf had reared Romulus. But the hind ran

29 Ὅτι οἱ Σαυνῖται ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι καὶ ἀπαξιώσαντες ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡττᾶσθαι, πρὸς ἀποκινδύνευσιν καὶ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὡς ἤτοι κρατήσοντες ἢ παντελῶς ἀπολούμενοι ὥρμησαν, καὶ τήν τε ἡλικίαν πᾶσαν ἐπελέξαντο, θάνατόν τε

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ἑτέρους χωρήσασα κατεκόπη, καὶ τόν τε φόβον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν συντυχίαν τοῦ πάθους κατέλιπε. συμπεσόντων οὖν τῶν στρατευμάτων ὁ μὲν Μάξιμος ῥᾷον τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνίκησεν, ἥττητο δέ γε ὁ Δέκιος. ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τοῦ πατρός, ἣν διὰ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἐποιήσατο, ἑαυτὸν ὁμοίως ἐπέδωκε, μή τινι περὶ τῆς πράξεως κοινωσάμενος. ἄρτι δὲ ἔσφακτο καὶ οἱ συντεταγμένοι αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν ἐκείνου αἰδοῖ ὡς δι' αὐτοὺς θανόντος ἐθελοντοῦ, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐλπίδι τοῦ πάντως ἐκ τούτου κρατήσειν, τῆς τε φυγῆς ἐπέσχον καὶ τοῖς διώκουσι σφᾶς γενναίως ἀντικατέστησαν. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Μάξιμος κατὰ νώτου τε αὐτοῖς προσέπεσε καὶ παμπόλλους ἐφόνευσεν· οἱ δὲ περιλειφθέντες ἀποδιδράσκοντες διεφθάρησαν. Μάξιμος δὲ Φάβιος τὸν μὲν τοῦ Δεκίου νεκρὸν κατέκαυσε σὺν τοῖς σκύλοις, τοῖς δὲ εἰρήνης δεηθεῖσι σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο.

Τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει αὖθις τοῖς Σαυνίταις ἐπολέμησεν Ἀτίλιος[1] Ῥήγουλος. καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος ἰσορρόπως ἐμάχοντο· εἶτα κρατησάντων τῶν Σαυνιτῶν αὖθις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀντεπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἑλόντες αὐτοὺς ὑπήγαγον ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγόν, καὶ οὕτως ἀφῆκαν. Σαυνῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἀγανακτήσαντες πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὥρμησαν, ὡς ἢ κρατήσοντες ἢ παντελῶς ἀπολούμενοι, θάνατον

[1] Ἀτίλιος Pinder, ἀτίδιος AC, ἀττίδιος B°.

The Samnites, enraged at what had occurred and feeling it disgraceful to be continually defeated, resorted to extreme daring and recklessness, with the intention of either conquering or being utterly destroyed. They assembled all their men that were B.C. 293

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to the other side and was struck down, thus leaving to the enemy fear and the issue of disaster. When the armies clashed, Maximus quite easily conquered the foes opposed to him, but Decius was defeated. And recalling the self-devotion of his father, undertaken on account of the dream, he likewise devoted himself, though without sharing his intention with anybody. Scarcely had he been slain when the men ranged at his side, partly out of respect for him (since they felt he had perished voluntarily for them) and partly in the hope of certain victory as a result of his act, checked their flight and nobly withstood their pursuers. At this juncture Maximus, too, assailed the latter in the rear and slaughtered vast numbers. The survivors took to flight and were annihilated. Fabius Maximus then burned the corpse of Decius together with the spoils and made a truce with the enemy, who sued for peace.

The following year Atilius Regulus again waged war upon the Samnites. And for a time they carried on an evenly-balanced struggle, but eventually, after the Samnites had won a victory, the Romans conquered them in turn, took them captive, led them beneath the yoke, and then released them. The Samnites, enraged at what had occurred, resorted to recklessness with the intention of either conquering or being utterly destroyed, threaten- B.C. 294

προειπόντες ὅστις ἂν αὐτῶν οἴκοι καταμένῃ, καὶ ὅρκοις σφᾶς φρικώδεσι πιστωσάμενοι μήτ' αὐτόν τινα ἐκ μάχης φεύξεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐπιχειρήσοντα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι φονεύσειν.—M. 76 (p. 165).

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ἀπειλήσαντες τῷ οἴκοι μενοῦντι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι ἔρημον ὂν στρατιωτῶν τὸ Σαύνιον ἐπόρθουν καὶ πόλεις εἷλόν τινας. ὅθεν οἱ Σαυνῖται τὴν Καμπανίαν λιπόντες εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἠπείχθησαν, καὶ τῷ ἑνὶ τῶν ὑπάτων συμμίξαντες ἔκ τινος ἥττηντο στρατηγήματος, καὶ φεύγοντες δεινῶς ἔπταισαν, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπέβαλον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ πόλισμα ᾧ ἐπεβοήθουν. ὁ δὲ ὕπατος τά τε ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε καὶ τὰ ἀθροισθέντα ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐδημοσίωσεν. ὁ δ' ἕτερος ὕπατος κατὰ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν στρατεύσας καὶ καταστήσας αὐτοὺς δι' ὀλίγου, σῖτόν τε καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσπράξας, τὰ μὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις διέδωκε, τὰ δ' εἰσήνεγκεν εἰς τοὺς θησαυρούς.

Συμβεβηκότος δὲ λοιμοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, οἱ Σαυνῖται καὶ Φαλίσκοι καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων διά τε τὴν νόσον καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ὑπάτους οὐ κατ' ἀρετὴν ᾕρηντο, ὡς μὴ πολέμων ὄντων, παρεκίνησαν. μαθόντες οὖν τοῦθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουνίῳ μὲν Βρούτῳ τὸν Καρουίλιον, Κυίντῳ δὲ Φαβίῳ τὸν πατέρα τὸν Ῥοῦλλον τὸν Μάξιμον ὑποστρατήγους ἢ πρεσβευτὰς συνεξέπεμψαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Βροῦτος Φαλίσκους ἐνίκησε καὶ τὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρσηνῶν ἐληίζετο, Φάβιος

of military age, threatening with death any one of their number who should remain at home, and they bound themselves with frightful oaths, each man swearing not to flee from the contest himself and to slay any one who should undertake to do so.

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ing with death the man who should remain at home. So these invaded Campania; but the consuls ravaged Samnium, which was now destitute of soldiers, and captured a few cities. Therefore the Samnites, abandoning Campania, made haste to reach their own land; and joining battle with one of the consuls, they were defeated by a ruse and in their flight met with terrible reverses, even losing their camp and in addition the fortress to the assistance of which they were advancing. The consul celebrated a triumph and turned over to the treasury the moneys realized from the spoils. The other consul made a campaign against the Etruscans and reduced them in a short time; he then levied upon them contributions of grain and money, of which he distributed a part to the soldiers and deposited the rest in the treasury.

However, there befell a mighty pestilence, and B.C. 292
the Samnites and Faliscans started an uprising; they felt contempt for the Romans both on account of the disease and because, since no war menaced, they had not chosen the consuls on grounds of excellence. The Romans, ascertaining the situation, sent out Carvilius along with Junius Brutus, and with Quintus Fabius his father Maximus Rullus, as lieutenants or envoys. Brutus, accordingly, worsted the Faliscans and plundered their possessions as well as those of the other Etruscans; and Fabius

30 Ὅτι πυθόμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὅτι ὁ ὕπατος Φάβιος ἡττήθη ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεινῶς ἠγανάκτησαν καὶ τοῦτον μεταπέμψαντες εὔθυνον. κατηγορίας τε αὐτοῦ πολλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενομένης (καὶ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς δόξῃ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐβαρύνετο) ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐδόθη, ὁ δὲ γέρων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀπελογήσατο, κατα-

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δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης πρὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξελάσας καὶ τοὺς Σαυνίτας λῃίζεσθαι τὴν Καμπανίδα πυθόμενος ἠπείγετο. προσκόποις τέ τισιν αὐτῶν ἐντυχών, καὶ ταχέως ἀποχωροῦντας σφᾶς θεασάμενος, πάντας τε τοὺς[1] πολεμίους ἐκεῖ τυγχάνειν ἐνόμισε καὶ φεύγειν ἐπίστευσε· κἀκ τούτου σπεύσας αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν πρὸ τοῦ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀφικέσθαι, ἵν' αὐτοῦ τὸ κατόρθωμα, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκείνου δοκῇ, προεχώρησεν ἀσυντάκτως. καὶ περιπεσὼν ἀθρόοις τοῖς πολεμίοις πανσυδὶ ἂν διεφθάρη, εἰ μὴ νὺξ ἐγένετο. πολλοὶ δ' οὖν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τεθνήκασι, μήτ' ἰατροῦ μήτ' ἐπιτηδείου τινὸς παρόντος, διὰ τὸ πολὺ πρὸ τῶν σκευοφόρων αὐτοὺς ἐπειχθῆναι ὡς αὐτίκα νικήσοντας· καὶ πάντως ἂν καὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας ἀπώλοντο, εἰ μὴ οἱ Σαυνῖται τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐγγὺς εἶναι νομίσαντες ἔδεισάν τε καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν.

Πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει δεινῶς ἠγανάκτησαν, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενοι τὸν ὕπατον εὐθύνειν ἤθελον. ὁ δὲ γέρων ὁ τούτου πατὴρ

[1] τοὺς supplied by Bs.

BOOK VIII

The Romans, on hearing that their consul Fabius had been worsted in the war, became terribly angry, summoned him home, and proceeded to try him. He was vehemently denounced before the people,—though he was distressed by the injury to his father's reputation even more than by the charges,—and no opportunity was afforded him for reply. But the elder Fabius, although he did not make a set B.C. 292

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marched out of Rome before his father and pushed rapidly forward when he learned that the Samnites were plundering Campania. Falling in with some scouts of theirs and seeing them quickly retire, he got the impression that all the enemy were at that point and believed they were in flight. Accordingly, in his hurry to come to blows with them before his father should arrive, in order that the success might appear to be his own and not his elder's, he went ahead with a careless formation. But he encountered the enemy in a compact body, and would have lost his entire army, had not night come on. Many of his men, moreover, died afterwards, with no physician or medical appliances at hand, because they had hastened on far ahead of the baggage-carriers in the expectation of immediate victory. And they would certainly have perished on the following day but for the fact that the Samnites, believing Fabius' father was near at hand, felt afraid and withdrew.

Those in the city on hearing this became terribly angry, summoned the consul, and wished to put him on trial. But the elder Fabius, his father, by enu-

ριθμήσας δὲ τά τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα, καὶ προσυποσχόμενος μηδὲν ἀνάξιον αὐτῶν πράξειν τῆς τε ὀργῆς σφας παρέλυσεν, ἄλλως τε
31 καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ υἱέος προβαλόμενος·[1] καὶ συνεξελθὼν εὐθὺς αὐτῷ μάχῃ τοὺς Σαυνίτας καὶ πρὸς τὴν νίκην ἐπηρμένους κατέβαλεν, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ λείαν πολλὴν εἷλεν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἄρξαι ἐκέλευσαν, ὑποστρατήγῳ καὶ τότε τῷ πατρὶ χρώμενον. καὶ ὃς πάντα μὲν αὐτῷ διῴκει καὶ διῆγεν οὐδὲν τοῦ γήρως φειδόμενος, καὶ τά γε συμμαχικὰ προθύμως οἱ, μνήμῃ τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτοῦ ἔργων, συνήρετο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔνδηλος ἦν δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ

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καταριθμήσας τά τε οἰκεῖα καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀνδραγαθήματα, καὶ ὑποσχόμενος μηδὲν αὐτῶν πράξειν ἀνάξιον τὸν υἱόν, καὶ τὴν τούτου νεότητα πρὸς τὸ ἀτύχημα προβαλόμενος, τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα παρέλυσε. καί οἱ συνεξελθὼν μάχῃ τοὺς Σαυνίτας ἐνίκησε καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν εἷλε τήν τε χώραν ἐπόρθησε καὶ λείαν πολλὴν ἤλασε· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐδημοσίωσε, τὰ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις κατένειμε. διά τοι ταῦτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἄρξαι ἐκέλευσαν, ὑποστρατήγῳ καὶ τότε τῷ πατρὶ χρώμενον. καὶ ὃς πάντα μὲν αὐτὸς διῴκει καὶ διῆγε μηδὲν τοῦ γήρως φειδόμενος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔνδηλος ἦν δι'

[1] προβαλόμενος Gros, προβαλλόμενος Ms.

defence of his son, did enumerate his own services and those of his ancestors, and by promising furthermore that his son should do nothing unworthy of them, he abated the people's wrath, especially since he urged his son's youth as an excuse for his error. And joining him at once in the campaign, he overthrew the Samnites in battle, elated as they were by their victory, and captured their camp and great booty. The Romans therefore both extolled him and ordered that his son should command also for the future, as pro-consul, and still employ his father as lieutenant. The latter managed and arranged everything for him, sparing his old age not a whit, and the allied forces readily assisted the father in remembrance of his old-time deeds. Yet he did not let it appear that he

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merating his own and his ancestors' brave deeds, by promising that his son should do nothing unworthy of them, and by urging the latter's youth to account for the misfortune, immediately abated their wrath. And joining him in the campaign, he conquered the Samnites in battle, captured their camp, ravaged their country, and drove off great booty; a part of this he turned over to the treasury and a part he granted to the soldiers. For these reasons the Romans both extolled him and ordered that the son should command also for the future, as pro-consul, and still employ his father as lieutenant. The latter managed and arranged everything himself, sparing his old age not a whit, yet he did not let it appear

πράγματα ποιούμενος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὄντως ἔν τε συμβούλου καὶ ἐν ὑπάρχου μέρει τῷ παιδὶ συνὼν αὐτός τε ἐμετρίαζε καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἔργων ἐκείνῳ[1] *προσετίθει.*—V. 20 (p. 585).

32 *Ὅτι οἱ . . . στρατιῶται μετὰ Ποστουμίου*[2] *ἐξελθόντες κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν τε ἐνόσησαν καὶ ἐδόκουν διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἄλσους τομὴν πονεῖσθαι. ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις ἀνακληθεὶς ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ κἀνταῦθα αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο λέγων οὐκ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν βουλὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνης αὐτὸν ἄρχειν.*[3]—M. 77 (p. 166).

40 *Ὅτι Γάιος Φαβρίκιος ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅμοιος ἦν Ῥουφίνῳ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἀδωροδοκίᾳ πολὺ προέχων· ἦν γὰρ ἀδωρότατος,*[4] *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ οὔτ' ἠρέσκετο καὶ ἀεί ποτε διεφέρετο. ὅμως ἐχειροτόνησεν·*[5] *ἐπιτηδειότατον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν*
2 *τοῦ πολέμου χρείαν ἐνόμισεν*[6] *εἶναι, καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν πρὸς τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δόξαν γε καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκτήσατο, κρείττων καὶ τοῦ φθόνου γενόμενος, ὅσπερ που*

Zonaras 8, 1.

ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πράγματα πράττων, ἀλλὰ τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἔργων τῷ παιδὶ προσῆπτε.

[1] *ἐκείνῳ* supplied by Rk.

[2] The words following *οἱ* and *στρατιῶται* are illegible in the Ms.; *οἱ σὺν τῷ Ἰουνίῳ στρατιῶται ἅμα τῷ Ποστουμίῳ* Mai, *οἱ τοῦ Ἰουνίου στρατιῶται σὺν Π.* Bs., *μετὰ Ποστουμίου* Cary.

was doing things on his own responsibility, but he associated with his son as if actually in the capacity of counsellor and under-officer, while he acted with moderation and assigned to him the glory of the exploits.

The soldiers . . . after setting out with Postumius, fell sick on the way, and it was thought their trouble was due to the felling of the grove. Postumius was recalled for these reasons, but showed contempt for them [the senators?] even at this juncture, declaring that the senate was not his master but that he was master of the senate. B.C. 291

Gaius Fabricius in most respects was like Rufinus, but in incorruptibility far superior. He was very firm against bribes, and on that account not only was obnoxious to Rufinus, but was always at variance with him. Yet he appointed the latter, thinking that he was a most proper person to meet the requirements of the war, and making his personal enmity of little account in comparison with the advantage of the commonwealth. From this action also he gained renown, in that he had shown himself superior even to jealousy, which springs up in the

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Zonaras 8, 1.

that he was doing things on his own responsibility, but made the glory of his exploits attach to his son.

[3] ἑαυτοῦ . . . ἄρχειν Bs. Very few letters are legible in the Ms. after ἑαυτο [4] ἀδωροδοκίᾳ Val., δωροδοκία Ms.

[5] ἐχειροτόνησεν Val., ἐχειροτονήθη Ms.

[6] ἐνόμισεν Val., ἐνόμισαν Ms.

καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν πολλοῖς ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐγγίγνεται. φιλόπολίς τε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὤν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ προσχήματι ἀρετὴν ἀσκῶν,[1] *ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ τό τε ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ*[2] *δι' ἑτέρου τινός, κἂν διάφορός οἱ ᾖ, εὖ τι τὴν πόλιν παθεῖν ἐτίθετο.*—V. 21 (p. 586) and M. 78 (p. 166) (*κρείττων—ἐγγίγνεται*).

36,33 *Ὅτι ἐρωτηθεὶς Γάιος Φαβρίκιος διὰ τί τῷ ἐχθρῷ τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψε τήν τε ἄλλην ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπήνεσε καὶ πρὸς εἶπεν ὅτι αἱρετώτερόν ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολίτου συληθῆναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πραθῆναι.*[3]—M. 79 (p. 166).

37 *Ὅτι*[4] *Κούριος τὰ πεπραγμένα οἱ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἀπολογιζόμενος ἔφη ὅτι γῆν μὲν τοσαύτην προσεκτήσατο ὅσην οὐκ ἂν ἄνθρωποι ἐλάττους ἐξειργάσαντο, καὶ ἀνθρώπους τόσους ἐθηράσατο ὅσοις οὐκ ἂν ἐλάττων χώρα ἐξήρκεσεν.*—M. 80 (*ib.*).

2 *Ὅτι*[5] *χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν εἰσηγουμένων τῶν δημάρχων ὁ νόμος κελεύων τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ὑπερημεριῶν πολλάκις μάτην ἐξετέθη, πᾶν ἀπολαβεῖν τῶν δα-*

Zonaras 8, 2.

2. *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δημάρχων τινῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν εἰσηγησαμένων, ἐπεὶ μὴ καὶ παρὰ*

[1] *ἀρετὴν ἀσκῶν* Rk., *ἀρέσκων* Ms.

[2] *τὸ* supplied by Bk.

[3] The words *ἐρωτηθεὶς Γάιος, ἐπέτρεψε, αὐτοῦ ἐπήνεσε*, and *πραθῆναι* are conjectures of Bs. The Ms. readings are uncertain.

[4] Bs.'s restoration of this fragment, based on v. Herw. and Polak, is here adopted. Only a small part is legible in the Ms.

hearts of many of the best men by reason of emulation. Since he was a true patriot and did not practise virtue for a show, he thought it a matter of indifference whether the state were benefited by him or by some other man, even if that man were an opponent.

Gaius Fabricius, when asked why he had entrusted the business to his foe, praised the general excellence of Rufinus, and added that to be spoiled by the citizen is preferable to being sold by the enemy.

Curius, in defending his conduct before the people, B.C. 290
declared that he had acquired so much land that any smaller number of men could not have tilled it, and had captured so many men that any smaller territory would have been insufficient for them.

When the tribunes moved an annulment of debts, B.C. 287?
the law prohibiting imprisonment for debt was often proposed without avail, since the lenders were

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Zonaras 8, 2.

2. After this, when some of the tribunes moved B.C. 287?
an annulment of debts, the people, since this was

[5] Boissevain's tentative restoration of this fragment, here adopted, follows in part that of Niebuhr (Rhein. Mus. 2, p. 588 ff.). Mai was able to read only small portions of the first seven lines (down to καὶ οἱ εὐπορώτεροι) in the Ms., and their decipherment is still more difficult to-day. Unfortunately we have no other account of the circumstances here recorded, aside from the few words in Zonaras.

νειστῶν βουλομένων, τῶν δὲ δὴ δημάρχων αἵρεσιν διδόντων τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἢ τοῦτον ἐπιψηφίσαντας τὸν νόμον τὰ ἀρχαῖα μόνα λαβεῖν ἢ καὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς
3 . . . . ἀποφοραῖς τριέτεσι κομίσασθαι. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παραχρῆμα οἵ τ' ἀσθενέστεροι ὀκνήσαντες μὴ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἁμαρτάνοιεν ἀμφότερα προσήκαντο καὶ οἱ εὐπορώτεροι θαρσήσαντες ὡς οὐδέτερον ἀναγκασθήσονται ἤχθοντο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπίσχειν †τὸ μεταστάν τι† ἔμελλεν, ἐς τοὐναντίον ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς περιέστη· τοῖς τε γὰρ ὀφείλουσιν οὐδέτερον ἔτ' αὐτῶν ἐξήρκεσε, καὶ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἀγαπητὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων στερηθεῖεν. οὔτ' οὖν ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἡ στάσις διεκρίθη, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα[1] ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἐς τὸ φιλονεικεῖν συνέβαλλον ἀλλήλοις· οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ
4 καθεστῶτι προσώπῳ ἐποίουν. τελευτῶντες οὖν οὐδὲ ἐθελόντων τῶν δυνατῶν[2] πολλῷ πλείω τῶν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐλπισθέντων σφίσιν ἀφεῖναι συνηλλάγησαν, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ μᾶλλον εἴκοντας αὐτοὺς ἑώρων, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὡς καὶ δικαιώματί τινι περιγιγνόμενοι ἐθρασύνοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τά τε ἀεὶ

Zonaras 8, 2.

τῶν δανειστῶν αὕτη ἐδίδοτο, ἐστασίασε τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ οὐ πρότερον τὰ τῆς στάσεως κατηυνάσθη ἕως πολέμιοι[3] τῇ πόλει ἐπήλθοσαν.

[1] ταῦτα Niebuhr, τούτων Ms. [2] δυνατῶν Mai, δυναστῶν Ms.
[3] πολέμιοι Wolf, πόλεμοι Mss.

desirous of recovering everything and the tribunes offered the rich the choice of either putting this law to the vote and recovering their principal only or . . . of receiving . . . in three annual payments. And for the time being the poorer class, fearing they might lose all, and the wealthier class, encouraged to believe they would not be compelled to accept either alternative, displayed anger. But when . . . , the situation became reversed for both sides. The debtors were no longer satisfied with either plan, and the rich thought they should be lucky if they were not deprived of their principal also. Hence the dispute was not decided immediately, but for a long time after this they continued to clash in a spirit of contentiousness; and, in general, they did not act in their usual character. Finally the people would not make peace even when the nobles were willing to concede much more than had originally been hoped for. On the contrary, the more they beheld their creditors yielding, the more they became emboldened, as if they were successful by a kind of right; and consequently they would minimize the concessions

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Zonaras 8, 2.

not granted by the lenders as well, began a sedition; and this was not quieted until foes came against the city.

συγχωρούμενα αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα παρὰ μικρὸν ἐτίθεντο καὶ ἑτέρων ἐπωρέγοντο, ἐπιβασίαν ἐς αὐτὰ τὸ τινῶν ἤδη τετυχηκέναι ποιούμενοι.—M. 81 (p. 166).

38 *Ὅτι ὡς εἶδον οἱ ἐναντίοι καὶ ἕτερον στρατηγὸν ἐλθόντα, τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ τῆς στρατείας σφῶν ἠμέλησαν, τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν ἕκαστοι σωτηρίαν διεσκόπουν, οἷά που φιλοῦσι ποιεῖν οἱ μήτε ἐξ ὁμοφύλων συνιόντες μήτ' ἀπὸ κοινῶν*[1] *ἐγκλημάτων στρατεύοντες μήτ' ἄρχοντα ἕνα ἔχοντες·*[2] *ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς*
2 *εὐπραγίαις συμφρονοῦσιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς συμφοραῖς τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος μόνον προορᾶται. καὶ ὥρμησαν ἐς φυγήν, ἐπειδὴ συνεσκότασε, μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπικοινωνήσαντες· ἀθρόοι μὲν γὰρ οὔτ'*[3] *ἂν βιάσασθαι οὔτ' ἂν λαθεῖν τὴν ἀπόδρασιν ἐνόμισαν, ἂν δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστοι καὶ ὡς ᾤοντο μόνοι ποι ἀπίωσι,*[4] *ῥᾷόν που διαπεσεῖσθαι. καὶ οὕτω τῷ οἰκείῳ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν δόγματι*[5] *ὅτι ἀσφαλέστατα*[6] *τὴν φυγὴν ποιησάμενοι . . .*—M. 82 (p. 167).

[1] κοινῶν Gros,, κοινοῦ Ms.
[2] ἕνα ἔχοντες Mai, ἕνα ἔχοντα ἕνα ἔχοντες Ms.
[3] οὔτ' Mai, ὅτ' Ms.
[4] ποι ἀπίωσι Bs., πη . . . Ms.
[5] δόγματι Mai, δό . . . Ms. (δόξουσι Mai).
[6] ἀσφαλέστατα Bk., ἀσφαλέστατον Mai (and Ms. ?).

made to them from time to time, feeling that these had been won by force; and they strove for yet more, using as a stepping-stone thereto the fact that they had already obtained something.

When the enemy[1] saw that another general also had come, they ceased to heed the common interests of their expedition, and each cast about to secure his individual safety, as is the common practice of those who form a union uncemented by kindred blood, or who make a campaign without common grievances, or who have not a single commander; while good fortune attends them their views are harmonious, but in disaster each one looks after his own interests only. And they betook themselves to flight as soon as it had grown dark, without having communicated to one another their intention. In a body they thought it would be impossible for them to force their way out, or for their flight to pass unnoticed, but if they should leave each on his own account and, as they believed, alone, they ought more easily to escape. And so, arranging their flight each in the way that seemed safest in his own judgment . . . B.C. 283

[1] The Etruscans, Senones, and Gauls appear to be meant.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK IX

39 Ὅτι πυθομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς Ταραντῖνοι καὶ ἄλλοι[1] τινὲς πόλεμον ἀρτύουσι κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν Φαβρίκιον ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίδας, ὅπως μηδὲν νεωτερίσωσι, στειλάντων, ἐκεῖνόν τε συνέλαβον, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Τυρσηνοὺς καὶ Ὀμβρικοὺς[2] καὶ Γαλάτας συχνοὺς αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν παραχρῆμα τοὺς δ' οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, προσαπέστησαν.—U[R] 3 (p. 375).

3 Ὅτι οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, καίπερ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὶ παρασκευάσαντες, ὅμως ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου[3] ἦσαν· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ᾐσθάνοντο μὲν τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ'[4] αὐτῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσεποιοῦντο διὰ τὰ παρόντα σφίσι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο νομίσαντες γοῦν ἢ διαφυγεῖν[5] ἢ πάντως γε λανθάνειν, ὅτι μηδ' ἔγκλημα ἐλάμβανον, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐξύ-

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Zonaras 8, 2.

Ἦρξαν δὲ τῶν πολέμων οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, Τυρσηνοὺς καὶ Γαλάτας καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ ἄλλους προσεταιρισάμενοι πλείονας. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συμβαλόντες διαφόροις μάχαις ἐνίκησαν καὶ ὑπάτοις ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις· οἱ δὲ Ταραντῖνοι, καίτοι αὐτοὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάσαντες, ὅμως

[1] ἄλλοι Urs., ἄλλοι τε Mss. [2] Ὀμβρικοὺς Urs., ὀμβρίσκους Mss. [3] φόβου Bs. (and Ms.?), φαβριου or φαλιου Ms. as formerly read by Bs. [4] ὑπ' Bk., ἀπ' Ms. [5] διαφυγεῖν Bs., δ . α . . λειν Ms.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK IX

The Romans had learned that the Tarentines and some others were making ready to war against them, and had despatched Fabricius as an envoy to the allied cities to prevent any revolt on their part; but these people arrested him, and by sending men to the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls caused a number of them also to secede, some immediately and some a little later. B.C. 283

The Tarentines, although they had themselves begun the war, nevertheless were sheltered from fear. For the Romans, who understood what they were doing, pretended not to know it on account of their temporary embarrassments. Hereupon the Tarentines, thinking either that they would get off with impunity or that they were entirely unobserved, because they were receiving no complaints, behaved

Zonaras 8, 2.

Those to begin the wars were the Tarentines, who had associated with themselves the Etruscans, Gauls, and Samnites, and numerous other tribes. These allies the Romans engaged and defeated in various battles, with different consuls on different occasions; but the Tarentines, although they had themselves begun the war, nevertheless did not yet

βρισαν καὶ ἄκοντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξεπολέμωσαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐπαληθεῦσαι ὅτι καὶ αἱ εὐπραγίαι, ἐπειδὰν ἔξω τοῦ συμμέτρου τισὶ γένωνται, συμφορῶν σφισιν αἴτιαι καθίστανται· προαγαγοῦσαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔκφρον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐθέλει τὸ σῶφρον τῷ χαύνῳ συνεῖναι) τὰ μέγιστα σφάλλουσιν, ὥσπερ που καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ὑπερανθήσαντες ἀντίπαλον τῆς ἀσελγείας κακοπραγίαν ἀντέλαβον.—M. 83 (p. 168) and *αἱ εὐπραγίαι—σφάλλουσιν* Max. Conf. Flor. f. 103 (M. p. 536).

4 *Δίων θ' βιβλίῳ "Λούκιος Οὐαλέριος ναυαρχῶν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ σταλείς ποι ὑπ' αὐτῶν."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 158, 25.

5 *Ὅτι Λούκιος ἀπεστάλη παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Τάραντα. οἱ δὲ Ταραντῖνοι Διονύσια ἄγοντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ διακορεῖς οἴνου τὸ δείλης καθήμενοι, πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτὸν ὑπετόπησαν, καὶ παραχρῆμα δι' ὀργῆς, καί τι καὶ τῆς μέθης αὐτοὺς*[1] *ἀναπειθούσης, ἀντανήχθησαν, καὶ προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ μήτε χεῖρας ἀνταιρομένῳ μήθ' ὅλως πολέ-*

Zonaras 8, 2.

οὔπω πρὸς μάχην ἀντικατέστησαν φανερῶς. ναυαρχοῦντος δὲ Λουκίου Οὐαλλερίου, καὶ τριήρεσι προσορμίσαι βουληθέντος ἐς Τάραντα, ἐπεὶ ἀπῄει ὅπῃ σὺν αὐταῖς ἀπεστάλη, φίλιον τὴν χώραν ἡγούμενος, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι κατ' αὐτῶν ὑποτοπήσαντες τὸν Οὐαλλέριον πλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος ὧν ἔδρων, μετ' ὀργῆς ἀντανήχθησαν, καὶ προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ μηδὲν πολέμιον ἐλπίσαντι κατέ-

[1] *αὐτοὺς* Reim., *αὐτοῖς* Mss.

still more insolently and forced the Romans even against their will to make war upon them. This confirms the saying that even success, when it comes to men in undue measure, proves a source of misfortune to them; for it leads them on into folly—since moderation will not dwell with vanity—and causes them the gravest disasters. Just so these Tarentines, after enjoying exceptional prosperity, met in turn with misfortune that was an equivalent return for their insolence.

Dio, Book IX. "Lucius Valerius, who was admiral of the Romans and had been despatched on some errand by them." B.C. 282

Lucius was despatched by the Romans to Tarentum. Now the Tarentines were celebrating the Dionysia, and sitting gorged with wine in the theatre one afternoon, they suspected that he was sailing against them. Immediately, in a passion and partly under the influence of their intoxication, they set sail in turn; and thus, without any show of force on his part or the slightest suspicion of any hostile act,

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Zonaras 8, 2.

openly array themselves for battle. Now Lucius Valerius, the admiral, while proceeding with his triremes to a place whither he had been despatched with them, wished to anchor off Tarentum, supposing the country to be friendly. But the Tarentines, owing to a guilty sense of their own operations, suspected that Valerius was sailing against them, and in a rage set sail in turn, and attacking him when he was expecting no hostile act, sent to the bottom

μιόν τι ὑποτοπουμένῳ κατέδυσαν κἀκεῖνον καὶ ἄλ-
6 *λους πολλούς. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι χαλεπῶς μέν, ὥσπερ οὖν εἰκός, ἔφερον, οὐ μὴν καὶ στρατεῦσαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς ἠθέλησαν. πρέσβεις μέντοι, τοῦ μὴ κατασεσιωπηκέναι δόξαι κἀκ τούτου θρασυτέρους αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, ἔστειλαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι οὐχ ὅπως καλῶς ἐδέξαντο, ἢ τρόπον γέ τινα ἐπιτήδειον ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀπέπεμψαν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς, πρὶν καὶ λόγον σφίσι δοῦναι, γέλωτα τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν*
7 *στολὴν αὐτῶν ἐποιοῦντο. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἀστική, ᾗ κατ' ἀγορὰν χρώμεθα· ταύτην γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι, εἴτ' οὖν σεμνότητος ἕνεκα εἴτε καὶ διὰ δέος, ἵν' ἔκ γε τούτου αἰδεσθῶσιν αὐτούς, ἐσταλμένοι ἦσαν. κατὰ συστάσεις τε οὖν κωμάζοντες ἐτώθαζον (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε ἑορτὴν ἦγον, ὑφ' ἧς καίτοι μηδένα χρόνον σωφρονοῦντες ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ὕβριζον), καὶ τέλος προσστάς[1] τις τῷ Ποστουμίῳ καὶ κύψας ἑαυτὸν*
8 *ἐξέβαλε καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ ἐκηλίδωσε. θο-*

Zonaras 8, 2.

δυσαν ἐκεῖνόν τε καὶ ἄλλους πολλούς· καὶ τοὺς ἁλόντας τοὺς μὲν καθεῖρξαν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἠγανάκτησαν μέν, πρέσβεις δ' ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν ἐπεγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς καὶ δίκας ἀπαιτοῦντες. οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐπιεικὲς ἀπεκρίθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτώθαζον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τοῦ Λουκίου Ποστουμίου τοῦ προέχοντος κηλιδῶσαι τῶν πρέ-

[1] *προσστάς* St., *προστάς* Mss.

they attacked and sent to the bottom both him and many others. When the Romans heard of this, they naturally were angry, but did not choose to take the field against Tarentum at once. However, they despatched envoys, in order not to appear to have passed over the affair in silence and in that way render them more arrogant. But the Tarentines, so far from receiving them decently or even sending them back with an answer in any way suitable, at once, before so much as granting them an audience, made sport of their dress and general appearance. It was the city garb, which we use in the Forum; and this the envoys had put on, either for the sake of dignity or else by way of precaution, thinking that this at least would cause the foreigners to respect their position. Bands of revellers accordingly jeered at them—they were then also celebrating a festival, which, though they were at no time noted for temperate behaviour, rendered them still more wanton—and finally a man planted himself in the way of Postumius, and stooping over, relieved his bowels and soiled the envoy's clothing. At this an

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Zonaras 8, 2.

both him and many others. Of the captives they imprisoned some and put others to death. When the Romans heard of this they were indignant, but nevertheless despatched envoys, upbraiding them and demanding satisfaction. The offenders, however, not only failed to give them any decent answer, but actually jeered at them, going so far as to soil the clothing of Lucius Postumius, the head of the

ρύβου δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων γενομένου, καὶ τὸν[1] μὲν ἐπαινούντων ὥσπερ τι θαυμαστὸν εἰργασμένον, ἐς δὲ δὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πολλὰ καὶ ἀσελγῆ ἀνάπαιστα ἐν ῥυθμῷ τοῦ τε κρότου καὶ τῆς βαδίσεως ᾀδόντων, ὁ Ποστούμιος "γελᾶτε," ἔφη, "γελᾶτε, ἕως ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν· κλαυσεῖσθε γὰρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον, ὅταν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ταύτην τῷ αἵματι ὑμῶν ἀποπλύνητε."

9 Ἀκούσαντες τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνοι τῶν μὲν σκωμμάτων ἐπέσχον, ἐς δὲ τὴν παραίτησιν τοῦ ὑβρίσματος οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ σῶς αὐτοὺς ἀφῆκαν, ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει ἐτίθεντο.—U^R 4 (p. 375), §§ 5–8, and M. 84 (p. 168), §§ 8, 9.

10 Ὅτι Μέτων, ὡς οὐκ ἔπεισε Ταραντίνους τὸ μὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκπολεμωθῆναι, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐκκλησίας

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σβεων. θορύβου δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένου, καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων ἐπικαγχαζόντων, ὁ Ποστούμιος "γελᾶτε," ἔφη, "γελᾶτε ἕως ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν· κλαυσεῖσθε γὰρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον, ὅταν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ταύτην τῷ αἵματι ὑμῶν ἀποπλύνητε."

Ἐπανελθόντων οὖν τῶν πρέσβεων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πραχθέντα μαθόντες ἤλγησαν, καὶ στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους Λούκιον Αἰμίλιον τὸν ὕπατον ἐψηφίσαντο. ὃς εἰς Τάραντα προσχωρήσας λόγους αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδείους ἔπεμψε, νομίζων εἰρήνην ἐπί τισι μετρίοις αἱρήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ταῖς γνώμαις ἀλλήλοις ἠναντιώθησαν· καὶ τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ εὐπόρων τὴν εἰρήνην σπευδόντων, τῶν δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ὀλίγα ἢ μηδὲν ἐχόντων πόλεμον αἱρου-

[1] τὸν Bk., τῶν Mss.

uproar arose from all the rest, who praised the fellow as if he had performed some remarkable deed, and they sang many scurrilous verses against the Romans, accompanied by applause and capering steps. But Postumius cried: "Laugh, laugh while you may! For long will be the period of your weeping, when you shall wash this garment clean with your blood."

Hearing this, they ceased their jests, but made no move toward obtaining pardon for their insult; indeed, they took to themselves credit for a kindness in the fact that they had let the ambassadors withdraw unharmed.

Meton, failing to persuade the Tarentines not to engage in war with the Romans, retired unobserved from

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embassy. At this an uproar arose and the Tarentines indulged in loud guffaws. But Postumius cried: "Laugh, laugh while you may! For long will be the period of your weeping, when you shall wash this garment clean with your blood."

Upon the return of the envoys the Romans, B.C. 281
learning what had been done, were grieved, and voted that Lucius Aemilius, the consul, should make a campaign against the Tarentines. He advanced to Tarentum and sent them favourable propositions, thinking they would choose peace on some fair terms. But they were at variance among themselves in their opinions. The elderly and well-to-do were anxious for peace, but those who were youthful and who had little or nothing were for war; and the younger

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40, 5 *Ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ* Κ*ινέου ἐλέγετο* Π*ύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς πλείονας πόλεις ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὑτοῦ*[2] *ἐξελεῖν δόρατος. καὶ γὰρ ἦν δεινός,*[3] *φησὶ* Π*λούταρχος, ἐν τῷ λέγειν, καὶ τῷ* Δ*ημοσθένει μόνος ἐν τῇ δεινότητι παρισούμενος. ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ ἄτοπον τῆς ἐκστρατείας οἷα ἔμφρων εἰδὼς ἀνήρ, ἐμποδὼν τῷ* Π*ύρρῳ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν καθίστατο·*

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μένων, ἐκράτησαν οἱ νεώτεροι. φοβούμενοι δὲ ὅμως, τὸν Π*ύρρον τὸν* Ἠ*πειρώτην εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐβουλεύσαντο προσκαλέσασθαι, καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα πεπόμφασιν.* Α*ἰμίλιος δὲ ταῦτα μαθὼν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλεηλάτει καὶ ἔφθειρεν. οἱ δὲ ἐπεξῆλθον μέν, ἀλλ' ἐτράπησαν, ὥστε τοὺς* Ῥ*ωμαίους τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἀδεῶς πορθῆσαι καί τινα χειρώσασθαι φρούρια. πολλὴν δὲ τῶν ἁλόντων τοῦ* Α*ἰμιλίου πεποιηκότος ἐπιμέλειαν, καί τινας τῶν δυνατωτέρων ἐλευθερώσαντος, οἱ* Τ*αραντῖνοι τήν τε φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτοῦ θαυμάσαντες, καὶ εἰς ἐλπίδας προαχθέντες σπονδῶν,* Ἄ*γιν τοῖς* Ῥ*ωμαίοις ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα εἵλοντο στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα. ἄρτι δ' οὗτος κεχειρο-*

[1] *ἔφη* Mai, *ἔδει* Ms. [2] *αὑτοῦ* Bk., *αὐτοῦ* Ms.
[3] *δεινός* Rk., *δεινὸς εἶναι* Ms.

the assembly, put garlands on his head, and returned along with some fellow-revellers and a flute-girl. At the sight of him singing and dancing the *cordax*, they gave up the business in hand to accompany his movements with shouts and hand-clapping, as people are apt to do under such circumstances. But he, after reducing them to silence, said: "Now it is our privilege both to be drunk and to revel, but if you accomplish what you plan to do, we shall be slaves."

King Pyrrhus was said to have captured more cities by the aid of Cineas than by his own spear. For the latter, says Plutarch[1] [*Pyrrhus*, 14], was skilled in speaking—the only man, in fact, to be compared in skill with Demosthenes. Now, as a sensible man, he recognized the folly of the expedition and endeavoured to dissuade Pyrrhus from it. For the

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generation had its way. But feeling timid, nevertheless, they planned to invite Pyrrhus of Epirus to form an alliance, and sent to him envoys and gifts. Aemilius, learning of this, proceeded to pillage and devastate their country. They made sorties, but were routed, so that the Romans ravaged their country with impunity and got possession of some strongholds. Aemilius showed much consideration for those taken prisoners and liberated some of the more influential; and the Tarentines, accordingly, filled with admiration for his kindness, were led to hope for reconciliation, and so chose as general, with full powers, Agis, who was a good friend of the Romans. Scarcely had he been

[1] Plutarch is again cited in frg. 107, but nowhere in the extant Mss. of Dio. Hence Boissevain suggests that the two references are due to the excerptor.

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[3] δεινός Rk., δεινὸς εἶναι M

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1 Plutarch [illegible] nowhere [illegible]

[illegible] ests that [illegible]

ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄρξειν διὰ τὴν[1] ἀνδρείαν πάσης διενοεῖτο[2] τῆς γῆς, ὁ δὲ ἀρκεῖσθαι ἱκανοῖς οὖσι τοῖς οἰκείοις πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν προέτρεπεν.[3] ἀλλὰ τὸ φιλοπόλεμον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ φιλόπρωτον τὴν τοῦ Κινέου νικῆσαν παραίνεσιν, αἰσχρῶς ἀπαλλάξαι αὐτὸν καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας πεποίηκεν, πολλὰς τῶν αὐτοῦ[4] δυνάμεων μυριάδας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἁπάσαις ἀποβεβληκότα.—V. 22 (p. 586).

3 Ὅτι ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς τε Ἠπείρου καλουμένης ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον, τὸ μὲν εὐεργεσίαις τὸ δὲ φόβῳ, προσεπεποίητο. Αἰτωλοί τε πολὺ τότε δυνάμενοι καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἰλλυρικῷ δυνάσται ἐθεράπευον αὐτόν. καὶ γὰρ φύσεως λαμπρότητι καὶ παιδείας ἰσχύι καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πραγμάτων πολὺ πάντων προέφερεν, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ[5] καὶ τὰς τῶν[6] συμμάχων καίπερ μεγάλας οὔσας ἀξιοῦσθαι.—V. 23 (p. 589).

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τόνητο καὶ Κιννέας ὑπὸ τοῦ Πύρρου προπεμφθεὶς ἐμποδὼν τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐγένετο.

Ὁ γὰρ Πύρρος τῆς καλουμένης βασιλεύων Ἠπείρου φύσεώς τε δεξιότητι καὶ παιδείας ἰσχύι καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πάντων προέφερε, καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον, τὸ μὲν εὐποιίαις, τὸ δὲ φόβῳ, προσεπεποίητο. οὗτος τοίνυν τοῖς τῶν Ταραντίνων

[1] διὰ τὴν supplied by Val. [2] διενοεῖτο Bk., διενόει Ms.
[3] προέτρεπεν Reim., ἐπέτρεπεν Ms. [4] αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτῶν Ms.
[5] ἑαυτοῦ Salmasius, ἑαυτῶν Ms. [6] τὰς τῶν St., τῶν Ms.

latter intended by his prowess to rule the whole earth, whereas Cineas urged him to be satisfied with his own possessions, which were sufficient for enjoyment. But the king's fondness for war and fondness for leadership prevailed against the advice of Cineas and caused him to depart in disgrace from both Sicily and Italy, after losing in all of the battles countless thousands of his own forces.

King Pyrrhus was not only king of the district called Epirus, but had made the larger part of the Greek world his own, partly by conferring benefits and partly by inspiring fear. The Aetolians, who at that period possessed great power, and Philip[1] the Macedonian, and the chieftains in Illyricum paid court to him. In natural brilliancy, in power acquired by education, and in experience of affairs he far surpassed all men, so as to be rated even beyond what was warranted by his own powers and those of his allies, great as these were.

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elected when Cineas, sent ahead by Pyrrhus, planted himself in the pathway of negotiations.

Now Pyrrhus, king of the district called Epirus, surpassed all men in natural cleverness, in power acquired by education, and in experience; and he had made the larger part of the Greek world his own, partly by conferring favours and partly by inspiring fear. Accordingly, when chance threw the

[1] If the text is correct, this refers to the son of Cassander, who ruled only four months in B.C. 296; Reiske substituted the name of Alexander.

4 Ὅτι Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἠπείρου τό τε φρόνημα πολλῷ μεῖζον ἔσχεν ἅτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀντίπαλος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι νομιζόμενος, καὶ ἐν τύχῃ οἱ ἡγήσατο ἔσεσθαι τοῖς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν καταφυγοῦσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ Ἕλλησιν οὖσιν, ἐπικουρῆσαι καὶ ἐκείνους σὺν προφάσει τινὶ εὐπρεπεῖ προκαταλαβεῖν πρίν τι δεινὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν παθεῖν. οὕτω γάρ που καὶ τῆς εὐδοξίας αὐτῷ ἔμελεν ὥστε καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου Σικελίας ἐφιέμενος καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅπῃ χειρώσαιτο διασκοπῶν, ὀκνεῖν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχθρας, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἠδίκητο, προκατάρξασθαι.—M. 86 (p. 169).

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πρέσβεσιν ἐντυχών, ἕρμαιον τὴν συμμαχίαν ἡγήσατο, ἐκ πλείονος τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς Καρχηδόνος καὶ τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἐφιέμενος, ὀκνῶν δ' ὅμως ἔχθρας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους αὐτὸς προκατάρξασθαι· καὶ βοηθήσειν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγείλατο, ἵνα δὲ μὴ ὑποπτευθείη δι' ἅπερ εἴρηται, οἴκαδε αὐτίκα ἀνακομισθήσεσθαι ἔφη, καὶ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις προστεθῆναι πεποίηκε τὸ μὴ περαιτέρω τῆς χρείας ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ παρ' αὐτῶν κατασχεθῆναι. συνθέμενος δὲ ταῦτα, τοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν πρέσβεων ὡς τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῷ συμπαρασκευάσοντας ἐν ὁμηρείᾳ κατέσχεν, ὀλίγους δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Κινέαν προέπεμψε σὺν στρατῷ. ἐλθόντων δ' αὐτῶν οἱ Ταραντῖνοι θαρσήσαντες τῶν τε καταλ-

BOOK IX

Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, had a particularly high opinion of his powers because he was deemed by foreign nations a match for the Romans; and he believed that it would be opportune to assist the fugitives who had taken refuge with him, especially as they were Greeks, and at the same time to forestall the Romans with some plausible excuse before he should suffer injury at their hands. For so careful was he about his good reputation that though he had long had his eye on Sicily and had been considering how he could overthrow the power of the Romans, he shrank from taking the initiative in hostilities against them, when no wrong had been done him.

Zonaras 8, 2.

envoys of the Tarentines in his way, he considered the alliance a piece of good luck. For a long time he had had his eye on Sicily and Carthage and Sardinia, but nevertheless he shrank from personally taking the initiative in hostilities against the Romans. So he promised to aid the Tarentines; but in order that he might not arouse suspicions (for the reasons stated) he announced that he would return home without delay, and insisted upon a clause being added to the agreement to the effect that he should not be detained by them in Italy further than actual need required. After making this agreement he detained the majority of the envoys as hostages, giving out that he wanted them to help him get the armies ready; a few of them, together with Cineas, he sent in advance with troops. As soon as they arrived, the Tarentines took courage, gave up their

6 Ὅτι Πύρρος πέμψας ἐς Δοδώνην ἐμαντεύσατο περὶ τῆς στρατείας· καί οἱ χρησμοῦ ἐλθόντος, ἂν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῇ Ῥωμαίους νικήσειν, συμβαλὼν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ βούλημα (δεινὴ γὰρ ἐξαπατῆσαί τινα ἐπιθυμία ἐστίν[1]) οὐδὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἔμεινεν.—M. 87 (p. 169).

Zonaras 8, 2.

λαγῶν τῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέσχοντο καὶ τὸν Ἄγιν παύσαντες τῆς στρατηγίας ἕνα τῶν πρέσβεων ἐχειροτόνησαν στρατηγόν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ Μίλων ὑπὸ τοῦ Πύρρου σὺν δυνάμει πεμφθεὶς τήν τε ἀκρόπολιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου ὑποδοχὴν κατειλήφει καὶ τὴν τοῦ τείχους φρουρὰν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔχαιρον, ὡς μήτε φρουρεῖν μήτ' ἄλλο τι ἐπίπονον ὑπομένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς τροφὰς ἐχορήγουν καὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ χρήματα ἔπεμπον.

Ὁ οὖν Αἰμίλιος τέως μὲν κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τούς τε Πυρρείους ἥκοντας ἔγνω καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα προσκαρτερεῖν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, ἐς Ἀπουλίαν ὥρμησεν. οἱ δὲ Ταραντῖνοι ἔν τινι στενοπόρῳ χωρίῳ, δι' οὗ διελθεῖν ἀνάγκην εἶχε, λοχήσαντες, ἄπορον αὐτῷ τὴν πορείαν ἐποίουν τοξεύμασιν ἀκοντίσμασί τε καὶ σφενδονήμασιν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους σφῶν, οὓς ἐπήγετο, προήγαγε. φοβηθέντες δ' οἱ Ταραντῖνοι μὴ τοὺς σφετέρους ἀντὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπολέσωσιν, ἐπαύσαντο.

Ὁ δὲ Πύρρος οὐδὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἀναμείνας ἀπῄει στράτευμά τε πολὺ καὶ ἔκκριτον ἐπαγόμενος καὶ ἐλέφαντας εἴκοσι, ζῷα μήπω πρότερον τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὀφθέντα· ὅθεν ἐξεπλήσσοντο καὶ ἐθαύ-

[1] ἐστίν Mai, τουτέστιν Ms.

BOOK IX

Pyrrhus sent to Dodona and inquired of the oracle about the expedition. And when the response came to him, "You, if you cross into Italy, Romans shall conquer," he construed it according to his wish—for desire is very apt to deceive one—and did not even await the coming of spring. B.C. 280

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attempted reconciliation with the Romans, and deposing Agis from his command, elected one of the envoys general. Shortly afterward Milo, sent by Pyrrhus with a force, took possession of their acropolis to serve as quarters for the king, and personally superintended the manning of their wall. The Tarentines rejoiced at this, since they did not have to do guard duty or undergo any other troublesome labour, and they sent regular supplies of food to the men and consignments of money to Pyrrhus.

Aemilius for a time held his ground, but when he perceived that the soldiers of Pyrrhus had arrived, and also found himself unable on account of the winter to hold out any longer, he started for Apulia. The Tarentines laid an ambush at a narrow pass through which he was obliged to go, and by means of their arrows, javelins and slings rendered progress impossible for him. But he put at the head of his line the captives whom he was conveying; and the enemy, fearing they might destroy their own men instead of the Romans, desisted from their attack.

Now Pyrrhus set out, not even awaiting the coming of spring, taking along a large, picked army, and twenty elephants, beasts never previously beheld by the Italians; hence they were invariably filled with

7 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι φρουρὰν ᾐτήσαντο παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῆς Δέκιος. τούτων οὖν οἱ πλείους ἔκ τε τῆς περιουσίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης ῥᾳστώνης, ἅτε καὶ ἀνειμένῃ παρὰ πολὺ διαίτῃ πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι χρώμενοι, ἐπεθύμησαν, ἐνάγοντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ Δεκίου, τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ῥηγίνων ἀποκτείναντες τὴν πόλιν κατασχεῖν· ἄδεια γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολλὴ ἐφαίνετο, τῶν Ῥωμαίων περὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους καὶ περὶ τὸν Πύρρον ἀσχό-

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μαζον. χειμῶνι δὲ περιπεσὼν τὸ Ἰόνιον περαιούμενος πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε τοῦ στρατεύματος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῷ κλύδωνι ἐσκεδάσθησαν. μόλις δ' οὖν πεζεύσας ἦλθεν εἰς Τάραντα. καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς μὲν ἀκμάζοντας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις συνέταξεν, ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς λελοχισμένοι νεωτερίσωσι, καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἔκλεισε, τάχα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπως μὴ ἐς αὐτὸ συνερχόμενοι νεοχμώσωσί τι, ἀπεῖπε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς συμπόσια καὶ κώμους ἀθροίζεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀσκεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν μᾶλλον[1] ἢ διημερεύειν κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν. ὡς δέ τινες ἀχθόμενοι τούτοις ὑπεχώρησαν, φρουροὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων κατέστησεν, ὥστε μηδένα ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δὲ τούτοις τε καὶ τῇ χορηγίᾳ τῶν τροφῶν βαρυνόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους εἰς τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν ἀναγκαζόμενοι δέχεσθαι, μετεγίνωσκον δεσπότου καὶ οὐχὶ συμ-

[1] μᾶλλον supplied by Cary, in accordance with Foster's translation.

The Rhegians had asked the Romans for a garrison, and Decius was the leader of it. But the majority of these guards, as a result of the abundance of supplies and the generally easy habits—for they were under far less rigid discipline than they had known at home—and at the instigation of Decius, formed the desire to kill the foremost Rhegians and occupy the city. It seemed as if they might be quite free to accomplish whatever they pleased, now that the Romans were busied with the Tarentines

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alarm and astonishment. While crossing the Ionian Gulf he encountered a storm and lost many soldiers from his army; the remainder were scattered by the violent seas. Only with difficulty, then, and by a land journey did he reach Tarentum. He at once impressed those of military age into service along with his own soldiers, so that they might not become mutinous as a result of having separate companies; he closed the theatre, ostensibly on account of the war and to prevent the people from gathering there and setting on foot any uprising; also he forbade them to assemble for banquets and revels, and ordered the youth to practise in arms instead of spending the day in the market-place. When some, indignant at this, left the ranks, he stationed guards from his own contingent so that no one could leave the city. The inhabitants, oppressed by these measures and by supplying food, and compelled to receive the guardsmen into their houses, repented, since they found in Pyrrhus a master instead of an ally. He, fearing

8 *λων ὄντων, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο πρᾶξαι. προσ-
ανέπειθε*[1] *δὲ αὐτοὺς ὅτι καὶ τὴν* Μεσσήνην *ὑπὸ
τῶν* Μαμερτίνων[2] *ἐχομένην ἑώρων. οὗτοι γάρ,*
Καμπανοί *τε ὄντες καὶ φρουρεῖν αὐτὴν ὑπ'* Ἀγα-
θοκλέους τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ *δυναστεύοντος ταχθέντες,
σφαγάς τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τὴν*
9 *πόλιν κατέσχον. οὐ μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς
τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐποιήσαντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἠλατ-
τοῦντο τῷ πλήθει· ἀλλ' ἐπιστολὰς ὁ* Δέκιος *ὡς
καὶ τῷ* Πύρρῳ *ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ σφῶν ὑπό τινων
γεγραμμένας πλάσας ἤθροισε τοὺς στρατιώτας,
καὶ ἐκείνας τε αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἑαλωκυίας ἀνέγνω,
καὶ προσπαρώξυνεν αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν,
ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐσαγγείλαντός τινος ἐκ κατασκευ-*

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μάχου τοῦ Πύρρου *πειρώμενοι. ὁ δὲ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ πρὸς τοὺς* Ῥωμαίους *ἀποκλίνωσι φοβηθείς, τῶν τὰ πολιτικὰ δυναμένων πράττειν καὶ προστατεῖν τοῦ ὁμίλου τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν* Ἤπειρον *πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἐπί τισι προφάσεσιν ἔπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀφανῶς διώλλυεν.* Ἀρίσταρχον *δέ τινα ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν* Ταραντίνων *ἐξεταζόμενον καὶ εἰπεῖν πιθανώτατον προσηταιρίσατο, ἵν' ὕποπτος τῷ δήμῳ ὡς τὰ τοῦ* Πύρρου *φρονῶν γένηται· ὡς δ' ἔτι πιστεῦον ἐκείνῳ τὸ πλῆθος ἑώρα, ἔπεμπεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν* Ἤπειρον· *καὶ ὃς ἀντειπεῖν μὴ θαρρῶν ἐξέπλευσε μέν, ἐς δὲ τὴν* Ῥώμην *ἀφίκετο.*

[1] *προσανέπειθε* Bk., *προσανέπειθον* Ms.
[2] *Μαμερτίνων* Val., *μανεθίνων* Ms.

and with Pyrrhus. They were the more easily persuaded owing to the fact that they saw Messana in the possession of the Mamertines. The latter, who were Campanians and had been appointed to garrison the place by Agathocles, the lord of Sicily, had slaughtered the inhabitants and occupied the city. The conspirators did not, however, make their attempt openly, since they were decidedly inferior in numbers. Instead, Decius forged letters purporting to have been written to Pyrrhus by some citizens with a view to the betrayal of the Romans; he then assembled the soldiers and read these to them, stating that they had been intercepted, and by addressing them in words appropriate to the occasion he exasperated them still further. The effect was enhanced by the announcement of a man, who had

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for these reasons that they might lean to the Roman cause, took note of all the men who had any ability as politicians or could dominate the populace, and sent them one after another to Epirus to his son on various excuses; occasionally, however, he would quietly assassinate them instead. A certain Aristarchus, who was among the noblest of the Tarentines and was a most persuasive speaker, he made his bosom friend, to the end that he should be suspected by the people of having the interests of Pyrrhus at heart. When, however, he saw that he still had the confidence of the multitude, he gave him an errand to Epirus. Aristarchus, not daring to dispute his behest, set sail, but went to Rome.

ασμοῦ ὅτι ναυτικόν τέ τι τοῦ Πύρρου κατῆρε[1] που τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐς λόγους τοῖς προδόταις ἀφι-
10 κνεῖται. οἱ δὲ παρεσκευασμένοι ἐμεγάλυνον, καὶ διεβόων προκαταλαβεῖν τοὺς Ῥηγίνους πρίν τι δεινὸν παθεῖν· ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ τὸ πρασσόμενον χαλεπῶς ἂν[2] ἀντισχεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς καταγωγάς σφων οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπηδήσαντες ἐφόνευσαν πολλούς, πλὴν ὀλίγων οὓς ὁ Δέκιος καλέσας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἔσφαξεν.—V. 24 (p. 589).

11 Ὅτι ὁ Δέκιος ὁ φρούραρχος τοὺς Ῥηγίνους ἀποσφάξας φιλίαν πρὸς Μαμερτίνους ἐσπείσατο, νομίζων αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοιοτρόπου τῶν τολμημάτων πιστοτάτους σφίσι συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι, ἅτε καὶ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι συχνοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυροτέραις δή τισιν ἀνάγκαις ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν ὁμοίων τι παρανομῆσαι τοῦ τε κατὰ νόμους ἑταιρικοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ γένος[3] οἰκείου συνίστανται.—M. 88 (p. 170).

12 Ὅτι διαβολὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι χρόνον τινὰ ἔσχον, μέχρι οὗ ἐπεξῆλθον αὐτοῖς· πρὸς γὰρ τὰ μείζω καὶ πρὸς τὰ μᾶλλον κατεπείγοντα ἀσχολίαν ἄγοντες παρὰ σμικρόν τισιν αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι ἔδοξαν.—M. 89 (p. 170).

13 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μαθόντες ἥξειν τὸν Πύρρον κατέδεισαν, ἐκεῖνόν τε αὐτὸν εὐπόλεμον εἶναι

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3. Καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Πύρρος τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἐποίει· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατέδεισαν μαθόντες τὸν Πύρρον ἐλθόντα εἰς Τάραντα τῷ τε ἐκπεπο-

[1] κατῆρέ Val., κατῆρκέ Ms. [2] ἂν supplied by St.
[3] γένος Bk., γένους Ms.

been assigned to the rôle, that a portion of Pyrrhus' fleet had anchored off the coast, having come for a conference with the traitors. Others, who had been instructed, magnified the matter, and shouted out that they must anticipate the Rhegians before they met with some harm, and that the traitors, ignorant of what was being done, would find it difficult to resist them. So some rushed into their lodging-places, and others broke into the houses and slaughtered great numbers; but a few had been invited to dinner by Decius and were slain there.

Decius, the commander of the garrison, after slaying the Rhegians, ratified friendship with the Mamertines, thinking that the similar nature of their outrages would render them most trustworthy allies. He was well aware that a great many men find the ties resulting from some common transgression stronger to unite them than the obligations of lawful association or the bonds of kinship.

The Romans suffered some reproach from them for a while, until such time as they took the field against them. For while they were busied with concerns that were greater and more urgent, they gave the impression that they regarded this affair as of slight moment.

The Romans, on learning that Pyrrhus was coming, were overcome with fear, since they had heard

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3. Such was the behaviour of Pyrrhus toward the Tarentines. Those in Rome, learning that Pyrrhus had come to Tarentum, were overcome with fear,

μαθόντες καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ ἀνανταγώνιστον ἔχειν, οἷά που συμβαίνει περί τε τῶν ἀγνώστων σφίσι καὶ περὶ τῶν διὰ πλείστου ὄντων μάλιστα[1] θρυλεῖσθαι τοῖς[2] πυνθανομένοις.—M. 90 (p. 170).

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λεμῶσθαι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ θρυλλεῖσθαι ἐκεῖνον εὐπόλεμόν τε τυγχάνειν καὶ δύναμιν ἔχειν ἀνανταγώνιστον. στρατιώτας τε οὖν κατέλεγον καὶ χρήματα ἤθροιζον φρουρούς τε ἐς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις διέπεμπον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖναι ἀποστῶσι, καί τινας προαισθόμενοι νεωτεριοῦντας τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν ἐκόλασαν. καί τινες τῶν Πραινεστίνων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀχθέντες περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ φυλακῇ ἐνεβλήθησαν, καί τις αὐτοῖς ἐκ τούτου χρησμὸς ἐκπεπλήρωτο· ἐχρήσθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς ποτε ὅτι τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθέξουσι θησαυρούς. καὶ ὁ μὲν χρησμὸς εἰς τοῦτο ἀπέβη, ἐκεῖνοι δέ γε ἀπώλοντο.

Οὐαλλέριον δὲ Λαουίνιον ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπεστάλκασι, καί τι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει τοῦ στρατεύματος κατέσχον. ὁ γοῦν Λαουίνιος εὐθὺς ἐξεστράτευσεν, ἵνα πορρωτάτω τὸν πόλεμον τῆς οἰκείας ποιήσηται· καὶ τὸν Πύρρον καταπλήξειν ἤλπισεν, εἰ αὐτοῖς ἐθελονταὶ ἐπίοιεν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος πολιορκεῖν προσεδόκησε. καὶ ἀπιὼν χωρίον τι τῶν Λευκανῶν εἷλεν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἐπίκαιρον, καὶ δύναμίν τινα ἐν τῇ Λευκανίᾳ κατέλιπεν, εἴρξουσαν αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἐπαρῆξαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις.

[1] ὄντων μάλιστα v. Herw., μάλιστα ὄντων Ms.
[2] τοῖς added by v. Herw.

that he was a great warrior himself and had a large and irresistible army—just the sort of reports, of course, that always come to those inquiring about persons unknown to them who live at a very great distance.

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because the Italian states had been set at enmity with them, and because it was the common report that he was a great warrior and had an irresistible army. So they proceeded to enlist soldiers and to gather money and to distribute garrisons among the allied cities to prevent them from revolting likewise; and learning in time that some were on the point of changing their allegiance, they punished the principal men in them. A handful of those from Praeneste were brought to Rome late one afternoon and thrown into the treasury for safe-keeping. Thereby a certain oracle was fulfilled concerning them. For an oracle had told them once that they should occupy the Roman treasury. The oracle, then, turned out in this way; but the men lost their lives.

Valerius Laevinus[1] was despatched against Pyrrhus, the Tarentines, and the rest of their associates, but a part of the army was retained in the city. Laevinus accordingly set out at once on his march, so that he might carry on the war as far as possible from the Roman territory. He hoped it would frighten Pyrrhus when the very men whom the king had thought to besiege should of their own accord advance against his troops. In the course of his journey he seized a strong strategic point in the land of the Lucanians, and he left behind a force in Lucania to hinder the people from giving aid to his opponents.

[1] Zonaras regularly spells the name Lavinius.

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Καὶ ὁ Πύρρος μαθὼν τὸν Λαουίνιον πλησιάζοντα προεξώρμησε, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος τρίβειν ἤθελε τὸν καιρόν, ἀναμένων τοὺς συμμαχήσοντας. καὶ τῷ Λαουινίῳ ἐπέστειλεν ὑπερηφάνως, ὡς καταπλήξων αὐτόν· εἶχε δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὧδε· "Βασιλεὺς Πύρρος Λαουινίῳ χαίρειν. πυνθάνομαί σε στράτευμα ἐπὶ Ταραντίνους ἄγειν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀπόπεμψον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ὀλίγων ἧκε πρὸς ἐμέ· δικάσω γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ εἴ τι ἀλλήλοις ἐγκαλεῖτε, καὶ ἄκοντας τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάσω." Λαουίνιος δὲ τάδε τῷ Πύρρῳ ἀντέγραψε· "Πάνυ μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Πύρρε, τετυφῶσθαι, δικαστὴν ἡμῖν ἑαυτὸν καθιστὰς καὶ Ταραντίνοις πρὶν δίκην ἡμῖν ὑποσχεῖν ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπεραιώθης. ἥξω τε οὖν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμωρίαν καὶ παρὰ Ταραντίνων καὶ παρὰ σοῦ λήψομαι. τί γὰρ δεῖ μοι λήρου καὶ φλυαρίας, ἐξὸν παρὰ τῷ Ἄρει τῷ προπάτορι ἡμῶν κριθῆναι;" τοιαῦτα ἀντεπιστείλας ἠπείγετο, καὶ ηὐλίσατο διὰ μέσου τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ἐκεῖ ποταμοῦ ποιησάμενος. κατασκόπους τέ τινας συλλαβών, δείξας τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπειπὼν πολλαπλασίαν ἄλλην ἔχειν, ἀπέπεμψεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πύρρος καταπλαγεὶς οὐ μάχεσθαι ἤθελεν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὔπω τινὲς συνῆλθον αὐτῷ, ἐπιλείψειν τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἤλπιζεν ἐν πολεμίᾳ διάγουσι. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Λαουίνιος λογιζόμενος ἔσπευδε συμμῖξαι. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πύρρου φήμην καὶ διὰ τοὺς

BOOK IX

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Pyrrhus, on learning of Laevinus' approach, set forth before the latter came in sight, established his camp, and was desirous of using up time while waiting for his allies. And he sent a haughty letter to Laevinus with the purpose of overawing him. The contents were as follows: "King Pyrrhus to Laevinus, Greeting. I learn that you are leading an army against Tarentum. Send it away, therefore, and come to me yourself with a few attendants. For I will judge between you, if you have any charge to bring against each other, and I will compel the party at fault, however unwilling, to deal justly." Laevinus wrote back thus in reply to Pyrrhus: "You seem to me, Pyrrhus, to be perfectly crazy when you set yourself up as judge between the Tarentines and us, before rendering us an account of your crossing over into Italy at all. I will come, therefore, with my whole army and will exact the proper recompense both from the Tarentines and from you. What use have I for nonsense and palaver, when I can stand trial in the court of Mars, our progenitor?" After sending this reply he hurried on and pitched camp in such wise that the river which flows through that district was between him and the enemy. Having captured some scouts, he showed them his troops, and after telling them he had more of them—many times that number—he sent them back. Pyrrhus, alarmed at this, was not desirous of fighting, since some of the allies had not joined him, and also since he kept hoping that provisions would fail the Romans while they delayed on hostile soil. Laevinus also took this possibility into account, and was eager to join battle. But as the soldiers had become terrified at the reputation of Pyrrhus and because

14 Ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστι μήτε ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἤθεσι τεθραμμένους τινάς, μήτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντας, μήτε τὰ αὐτὰ καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ [1] νομίζοντας εἶναι, φίλους ποτὲ ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 34r (M. p. 537).

15 Ὅτι ἥ τε φιλοτιμία καὶ ἡ ἀπιστία ἀεὶ τοῖς τυράννοις σύνεστιν, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη μηδένα αὐτοὺς ἀκριβῆ φίλον ἔχειν· ἀπιστούμενός τε γὰρ καὶ φθονούμενός τις οὐδένα ἂν καθαρῶς ἀγαπήσειε. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ ἡ τῶν τρόπων ὁμοιότης ἥ τε τοῦ βίου ἰσότης καὶ τὸ τὰ αὐτά τισι καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ σωτήρια εἶναι καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ βεβαίους φιλίας [2] μόνα ποιεῖ. ὅπου δ' ἂν τούτων τι ἐνδεήσῃ, προσποιητὸν μέν τι [3] σχῆμα ἑταιρίας ὁρᾶται, ἕρμα δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῆς ἐχέγγυον εὑρίσκεται.—M. 91 (p. 170) and (as three selections) Max. Conf. Flor. f. 34 (M. p. 537).

16 Ὅτι στρατηγία ἂν μὲν καὶ δυνάμεις ἀξιόχρεως λάβῃ, πλεῖστον καὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν σφῶν καὶ πρὸς ἐπικράτησιν φέρει, αὐτὴ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐδενὸς ἐν μέρει ἐστίν· [4] οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλη τις τέχνη χωρὶς τῶν συμπραξόντων καὶ συνδιοικησόντων αὐτῇ ἰσχύει.—M. 92 (p. 171).

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ἐλέφαντας ἐκπεπληγμένων, συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς πολλὰ πρὸς θάρσος παρακαλοῦντα ἐδημηγόρησε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο καὶ ἄκοντι τῷ Πύρρῳ συμ-

[1] καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ B, αἰσχρὰ καὶ καλὰ A. [2] βεβαίους φιλίας Bk., βεβαίους φίλους palimps., βεβαίας φιλίας flor. [3] τι Bk., τοι palimps., om. flor. [4] ἐστίν supplied by Bs.

For it is impossible that persons not brought up under the same institutions, or filled with the same ambitions, or accustomed to regard the same things as noble or base, should ever become friends with one another.[1]

Ambition and distrust are ever the associates of tyrants, and so it is inevitable that these should possess no real friend. A man who is distrusted and envied could not love any one sincerely. Moreover, a similarity of habits and a like station in life and the fact that the same objects are disastrous and beneficial to persons are the only forces that can create true, firm friendships. Wherever any one of these conditions is lacking, you see a fictitious appearance of comradeship, but find it to be without secure support.

Generalship, if it be assisted by respectable forces, contributes greatly both to their preservation and to their victory, but by itself is worth nothing. Nor is there any other profession that avails aught without persons to coöperate and to aid in its administration.

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of the elephants, he called them together and delivered a speech containing many exhortations to courage; then he busily prepared to join issue with Pyrrhus, willing or unwilling. The latter had no

[1] Nos. 14, 15, and 16 may be from the speech made by Laevinus to the soldiers.

18 Ὅτι τοῦ Μεγακλέους τελευτήσαντος καὶ τοῦ

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μῖξαι. ὁ δὲ γνώμην μὲν οὐκ εἶχε μάχεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ μὴ δόξῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς οἰκείοις διαλεχθεὶς ἐπώτρυνεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. Λαουίνιος δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πειρώμενος κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον διαβῆναι ἐκωλύθη. ἐπαναγαγὼν οὖν αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ χώραν μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἔμεινε, τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς ὡς ἐπὶ λείαν τάχα τινὰ ἔπεμψεν, ἐντειλάμενος πόρρω ποι βαδίσαντας περαιωθῆναι. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοί τε κατὰ νώτου τοῖς πολεμίοις προσέπεσον ἀπροσδόκητοι, καὶ ὁ Λαουίνιος ταραχθέντων αὐτῶν τόν τε ποταμὸν διέβη καὶ τῆς μάχης συνεπελάβετο. φεύγουσιν οὖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Πύρρος ἐπικουρήσας τρωθέντα τὸν ἵππον ἀπέβαλε, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τεθνηκέναι. κἀκ τούτου τῶν μὲν ἀθυμησάντων, τῶν δὲ καταφρονησάντων, τὸ ἔργον ἠλλοίωτο. συνεὶς δὲ τοῦτο τὴν μὲν στολὴν ἐκπρεπεστέραν τῶν ἄλλων οὖσαν ἔδωκε Μεγακλεῖ, κελεύσας ἐνδῦναι αὐτὴν καὶ πανταχόσε περιελαύνειν, ὅπως σώζεσθαι αὐτὸν νομίσαντες οἱ μὲν ἐναντίοι πρὸς δέος, οἱ δ' οἰκεῖοι πρὸς θάρσος ἀφίκωνται, αὐτὸς δὲ στειλάμενος ἰδιωτικῶς συνέμιξεν αὐτοῖς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ πλὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ πονουμένοις ἐπαμύνων πλεῖστον τοὺς σφετέρους ὠφέλησε. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας ἰσορρόπως ἐμάχοντο, ὡς δὲ τὸν Μεγακλέα τις ἀποκτείνας ᾠήθη τὸν Πύρρον ἀπεκτονέναι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δόκησιν τούτου παρέσχεν, οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπερρώσθησαν καὶ οἱ ἐναντίοι

BOOK IX

When Megacles was dead and Pyrrhus had cast off

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heart to fight, but in order to avoid an appearance of fearing the Romans he also in person addressed his men, inciting them to battle. Laevinus tried to cross the river opposite the camp, but was prevented. Retiring, therefore, he himself remained in position with the infantry, but sent the cavalry off, ostensibly on a marauding expedition, with instructions to march along some distance and then to cross the stream. In this way the cavalry assailed the enemy unexpectedly in the rear, while Laevinus in the midst of the foe's confusion crossed the river and took part in the battle. Pyrrhus came to the aid of his own men, who were in flight, but lost his horse by a wound; and they believed him to be dead. Then, with the one side dejected and the other scornfully elated, the situation had become altered. Pyrrhus became aware of this and gave his raiment, which was more striking than that of the rest, to Megacles, bidding him put it on and ride about in all directions, so that in the belief that the king was safe his opponents might be inspired with fear and his followers with courage. As for himself, he put on the dress of a private soldier and encountered the Romans with his full army, except for the elephants; and by bringing assistance to his troops wherever they were in trouble he aided them greatly. At first, then, for a large part of the day, they fought evenly; but when a man killed Megacles, thinking he had killed Pyrrhus and creating this impression in the minds of the rest, the Romans gained strength and their opponents began to give way. Pyrrhus,

Πύρρου τὸν πῖλον ἀπορρίψαντος ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ἡ μάχη περιέστη· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡ σωτηρία αὐτοῦ πολὺ πλεῖον ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα σφῶν αὐτὸν περιεῖναι ἢ εἰ μηδ' ἀρχὴν τεθνηκέναι ἐνενόμιστο θάρσος ἐνεποίησεν, οἱ δὲ ἀπατηθέντες δεύτερον οὐδὲν ἔτι πρόθυμον ἔσχον, κολουσθέντες τε αὖθις τὸ μάτην θαρσῆσαν καὶ ἐκ τῆς δι' ὀλίγου μεταβολῆς σφων ἐς τὴν τοῦ χείρονος δόκησιν οὐδ' ὕστερόν ποτε αὐτὸν φθαρήσεσθαι ἐλπίσαντες.—M. 93 (p. 171).

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ἐνέδοσαν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Πύρρος τὸ γινόμενον, τὸν πῖλον ἀπέρριψε καὶ γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ περιήει· καὶ εἰς τοὐναντίον περιέστη ἡ μάχη. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Λαουίνιος, καὶ ἱππέας ἔχων ἐνεδρεύοντάς που τῆς μάχης ἐκτός, κατὰ νώτου προσπεσεῖν αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκέλευσε. πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ ἀντιστρατηγῶν ὁ Πύρρος τὸ σημεῖον τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ἦρεν· ἔνθα ἔκ τε τῆς τῶν θηρίων θέας ἀλλοκότου οὔσης καὶ τῆς βοῆς φρικώδους, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὅπλων πατάγου, ὃν οἱ ἐπιβεβηκότες ἐποίουν ἐν τοῖς πύργοις φερόμενοι, αὐτοί τε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ οἱ σφῶν ἵπποι ἐκταραχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀποσειόμενοι τοὺς ἀναβάτας, οἱ δὲ καὶ φέροντες ἔφευγον. ἀθυμῆσαν οὖν ἐκ τούτων τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐτράπετο στράτευμα, καὶ φεύγοντες ἀνῃροῦντο οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων, οἱ δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν θηρίων ταῖς προβοσκίσι καὶ τοῖς κέρασιν ἢ ὀδοῦσι φθειρόντων πολλούς· καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ δὲ οὐ μείους κατηλόων συμπατουμένους. καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ ἐφ-

his cap, the battle took an opposite turn. The one side was filled with much greater boldness as a result of his safety and the fact that he had survived contrary to their fears than if the idea had never gained ground that he was dead; the other side, deceived a second time, had no longer any zeal left, but since they had been once more cut short in their premature encouragement and because of the sudden change in their feelings to the expectation of disaster, they had no hope that he might ever perish after that.

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noting what was taking place, cast off his cap and went about with his head bare; and the battle took an opposite turn. Seeing this, Laevinus, who had horsemen in hiding somewhere outside the battle, ordered them to attack the enemy in the rear. As a counter-move to this Pyrrhus raised the signal for the elephants. Then, indeed, at the sight of the animals, which was out of all common experience, at their frightful trumpeting, and also at the clatter of arms which their riders made, seated in the towers, both the Romans themselves were panic-stricken and their horses became frenzied and bolted, either shaking off their riders or bearing them away. Disheartened at this, the Roman army was turned to flight, and in their rout some soldiers were slain by the men in the towers on the elephants' backs, and others by the beasts themselves, which destroyed many with their trunks and tusks (or teeth) and crushed and trampled under foot as many more. The cavalry, following after, slew many; and

19 Ὅτι συγχαιρόντων τινῶν τῷ Πύρρῳ τῆς νίκης, τὴν μὲν δόξαν τοῦ ἔργου ἐδέχετο, εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ αὖθίς ποτε ὁμοίως κρατήσειεν, ἀπολεῖσθαι ἔφη. καὶ τοῦτό τ' αὐτοῦ φερόμενόν ἐστιν, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καίτοι νικηθέντας ἐθαύμασε καὶ προέκρινε τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιωτῶν, εἰπὼν ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἂν ἤδη πᾶσαν ἐχειρωσάμην, εἰ Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευον.—M. 94 (p. 171).

21 Ὅτι Πύρρος λαμπρός τε ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ἦν καὶ ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτῆς μέγα ἔσχεν, ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθημένων προσχωρῆσαί οἱ, πάντας δὲ τοὺς περιορωμένους τῶν συμμάχων ἀφικέσθαι. οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐμφανῆ ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς ἐποιήσατο, οὔτ' αὖ παντελῶς τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀπεκρύ-

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επόμενοι πολλοὺς ἔφθειρον· οὐδ' ἂν ὑπελείφθη τις, εἰ μὴ ἐλέφας τρωθεὶς αὐτός τε ἐσφάδαζεν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου βοὰς ἐταράσσοντο. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ Πύρρος ἐπέσχε τὴν δίωξιν, καὶ οὕτως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαβεβηκότες τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς Ἀπουλίδα πόλιν τινὰ ἀπεσώθησαν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πύρρου στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων πεπτώκασιν, ὥστε συγχαιρόντων αὐτῷ τῆς νίκης τινῶν "εἰ καὶ αὖθίς ποτε ὁμοίως," ἔφη, "κρατήσομεν, ἀπολούμεθα." τοὺς μέντοι Ῥωμαίους καὶ νικηθέντας ἐθαύμασεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "τὴν οἰκουμένην ἂν πᾶσαν ἐχειρωσάμην, εἰ Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευον."

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πύρρος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ μέγα ἔσχηκεν ὄνομα, καὶ πολλοὶ αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, οἵ τε

When some men congratulated Pyrrhus on his victory, he accepted the glory of the exploit, but said that if he should ever conquer again in like fashion, it would be his ruin. Besides this story, it is also told of him that he admired the Romans even in their defeat and judged them superior to his own soldiers, declaring: "I should already have mastered the whole inhabited world, were I king of the Romans." B.C. 280

Pyrrhus became famous for his victory and acquired a great reputation from it, to such an extent that many who had been remaining neutral came over to his side and all the allies who had been watching the turn of events joined him. He did not openly display anger towards them nor did he entirely conceal

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not one, indeed, would have been left, had not an elephant been wounded, and not only gone to struggling itself as a result of the wound but also by its trumpeting thrown the rest into confusion. This restrained Pyrrhus from pursuit and the Romans thus managed to cross the river and make their escape into an Apulian city. Many of Pyrrhus' soldiers and officers alike fell, so that when some men congratulated him on his victory, he said: "If we ever conquer again in like fashion, it will be our ruin." The Romans, however, he admired even in their defeat, declaring: "I should have mastered the whole inhabited world, were I king of the Romans."

Pyrrhus, accordingly, acquired a great reputation for his victory and many came over to his side; and the allies also espoused his cause. These he rebuked

ψατο, ἀλλ' ὀλίγα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τῇ διαμελλήσει ἐπιτιμήσας ἄλλως φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· καὶ γὰρ ἔκ τε τοῦ σφόδρα αὐτοῖς ἐγκεῖσθαι[1] *ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ ἐς φανερὰν αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίωσιν προ-*
22 *αγάγῃ,*[2] *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐνδείξασθαι ἐνόμισεν ἤτοι καταγνωσθήσεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν εὐήθειαν ὡς οὐ συνεὶς ὧν ἔπραξαν, ἢ καὶ ὑποπτευθήσεσθαι ὀργὴν κρυφαίαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἢ*[3] *καταφρόνησιν ἢ μῖσος προεπιβουλήν τε ἐς αὐτόν, ὅπως μὴ προπάθωσί τι, ἐγγενήσεσθαί σφισι προσεδόκησε. δι' οὖν ταῦτα πρᾴως τε αὐτοῖς διελέχθη καὶ τῶν σκύλων τινὰ ἔδωκεν.*—M. 95 (p. 172).

23 *Ὅτι Πύρρος τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους συχνοὺς ὄντας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πεῖσαι ἐπεχείρησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην συστρατεῦσαι, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, ἰσχυρῶς ἐθεράπευσε, μήτε δήσας τινὰ μήτ' ἄλλο τι κακὸν δράσας, ὡς καὶ προῖκα αὐτοὺς ἀποδώσων καὶ ἀμαχεὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἄστυ προσποιησόμενος.*—V. 25 (p. 590).

24 *Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν ἀπόρῳ γενόμενοι διὰ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἅτε μηπώποτε τοιοῦτο θηρίον ἰδόντες, τὴν μέντοι θνητὴν φύσιν ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ ὅτι*

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σύμμαχοι ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτόν· οἷς ὀλίγα ἐπιτιμήσας διὰ τὴν μέλλησιν, τῶν σκύλων μετέδωκεν·

[1] *ἄλλως . . . ἐγκεῖσθαι* supplied by Bs. to complete the sense. [2] *προαγάγῃ* Bk., *προσαγάγῃ* Ms.
[3] *ἢ* added by v. Herw.

his suspicions; he rebuked them somewhat for their delay, but otherwise received them kindly. The result of showing excessive irritation would be, he feared, their open estrangement, while if he failed to reveal his real feelings at all, he thought that he should either be condemned by them for his simplicity in not comprehending what they had done, or should be suspected of harbouring secret wrath. And such feelings would breed in them either contempt or hatred, and would lead to a plot against him, due to their desire to anticipate injuries that they might suffer at his hands. For these reasons, then, he conversed affably with them and gave them some of the spoils.

Pyrrhus at first tried to persuade the Roman captives, who were many, to join with him in a campaign against Rome; but when they refused, he treated them with the utmost consideration and did not put any of them in prison or harm them in any other way, his intention being to restore them voluntarily and through them to win over the city without a battle.

Although on account of the elephants, a kind of beast that they had never before seen, the Romans had fallen into dismay, nevertheless, by reflecting on the mortal nature of the animals and the fact that no

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somewhat on account of their tardiness, but gave them a share of the spoils.

θηρίον οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου κρεῖττόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πάντως, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ' ἰσχύν, ταῖς γοῦν σοφίαις σφῶν ἐλαττοῦται,[1] ἐθάρσουν.—M. 96 (p. 172).

25 Ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ τοῦ Πύρρου, οἵ τε[2] οἴκοθεν καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, δεινῶς πρὸς τὰς ἁρπαγὰς ὡς καὶ ἑτοίμους καὶ ἀκινδύνους σφίσιν οὔσας ἠπείγοντο.—M. 97 (p. 172).

26 Ὅτι οἱ Ἠπειρῶται τὴν φιλίαν, ἀγανακτήσει ὅτι ἐπὶ μεγάλαις δή τισιν ἐλπίσι στρατεύσαντες οὐδὲν ἔξω πραγμάτων[3] εἶχον, ἐλυμήναντο, καὶ πάνυ γε ἐν καιρῷ τοῦτο[4] τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο· συνιστάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντες ἀνεκόπησαν, ἐξ ἴσου τὰ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τὰ[5] τῶν πολεμίων πορθοῦντας αὐτοὺς ὁρῶντες· τὰ γὰρ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐσκόπουν.—M. 98 (p. 172).

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4. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἤλγησαν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ ἥττῃ, τῷ δέ γε Λαουινίῳ στράτευμα ἔπεμψαν, καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ἐκ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν μετεπέμψαντο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσαντο, πυνθανόμενοι ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Πύρρον ἐπείγεσθαι. ὁ μέντοι Λαουίνιος τοὺς οἰκείους τε τραυματίας ἐξακεσάμενος, καὶ τοὺς σκεδασθέντας συναγαγών, ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης πεμφθέντων ἀφικομένων, τὸν Πύρρον παρεπόμενος ἐλύπει· καὶ τὴν Καπύην μαθὼν ἑλεῖν γλιχόμενον, προκατέλαβε καὶ ἐφύλαξεν. ἁμαρτὼν δ' ἐκείνης ὁ Πύρρος ἐπὶ τὴν Νεάπολιν ὥρμησεν. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐν αὐτῇ δρᾶσαι ἴσχυσε, σπεύδων

[1] ἐλαττοῦται Madvig, ἐλαττοῦνται or ἐλαττοῦντα Ms. [2] οἵ τε Gros, ἅτε Ms. [3] πραγμάτων Bs., τῶν πραγμάτων Ms.

animal is superior to man, but that all of them in every way show inferiority, if not as regards strength, at least in respect of intelligence, they began to take heart.

The soldiers of Pyrrhus, moreover, both his native followers and the allies, showed tremendous eagerness for the plunder, which seemed to lie ready before them and to be free from danger.

The Epirots, displeased because they were getting nothing but trouble after entering upon the campaign in such high hopes, ravaged the territory of their friends. And this happened very opportunely for the Romans, inasmuch as the inhabitants of Italy who had been on the point of leaguing themselves with him, on seeing that his troops ravaged the possessions of allies and enemies alike, drew back; for they considered his acts rather than his promises.

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4. The men of Rome were grieved at their defeat, but sent an army to Laevinus; and they summoned Tiberius from Etruria and put the city under guard when they learned that Pyrrhus was hastening against it. And Laevinus, as soon as he had cured his wounded soldiers and collected those scattered, and had also received the reinforcements from Rome, followed on the track of Pyrrhus and harassed him. Finding out that the king was eager to capture Capua, he occupied it in advance and guarded it. Disappointed there, Pyrrhus set out for Neapolis. But unable to accomplish anything at this place either, and being in haste to occupy Rome, he passed

[4] τοῦτο Bk., τούτωι Ms. [5] καὶ τὰ supplied by Bs.

27 *Ὅτι ὁ Πύρρος ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ πανταχόθεν*[1] *ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν χωρίοις ἀγνώστοις ἀποληφθῇ. χαλεπῶς δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῦ φερόντων, εἶπέ σφισιν ὅτι σαφῶς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας ὁρῴη ὅσον τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαφέρουσι· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ὑπήκοον καὶ δένδρα παντοδαπὰ καὶ ἀμπελουργίας καὶ γεωργίας κατασκευάς τε τῶν ἀγρῶν πολυτελεῖς ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων οὕτω πεπορθῆσθαι ὥστε μηδ' εἰ κατῳκήθη ποτὲ γιγνώσκεσθαι.*—M. 99 (p. 173.)

28 *Ὅτι ὁ αὐτός, ἐπειδή γε ἀναχωροῦντι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Λαιουίνου*[2] *πολλῷ πλεῖον τοῦ πρόσθεν εἶδεν,*[3] *ὕδρας ἔφη δίκην τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων κοπτόμενα ἀναφύεσθαι. οὐ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦθ' ἧττον*[4] *ἐθάρσησεν, ἀλλ'*[5] *ἀντιπαρετάξατο μέν, οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο δέ.*—M. 100 (p. 173).

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τὴν Ῥώμην καταλαβεῖν καὶ διὰ τῆς Τυρσηνίδος παριὼν ὡς κἀκείνους προσλάβοι, ἐπεὶ ἔμαθεν αὐτούς τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁμολογίας πεποιημένους καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον αὐτῷ ἀντιπροσιόντα τόν τε Λαουίνιον ἐφεπόμενον, ἐφοβήθη μὴ ὑπ' αὐτῶν πανταχόθεν ἐν χωρίοις ἀγνώστοις ἀποληφθῇ, καὶ περαιτέρω οὐ προεχώρησεν. ὡς δὲ ἀναχωροῦντι καὶ γενομένῳ περὶ Καμπανίαν ὁ Λαουίνιος ἐπεφάνη, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ πολλῷ πλεῖον τοῦ πρόσθεν ἦν, ὕδρας ἔφη δίκην τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων κοπτόμενα ἀναφύεσθαι. καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξατο μέν, οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο δέ, ὅτι ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς

[1] πανταχόθεν Bs., πανταχ . . . Ms. (πανταχῶς Mai).
[2] Λαιουίνου Bk., λαμινίου Ms.
[3] The anacoluthon is pro-

Pyrrhus became afraid of being cut off on all sides by the Romans while he was in unfamiliar regions. When his allies showed displeasure at this, he told them that he could see clearly from the country itself what a difference there was between them and the Romans. The subject territory of the latter had all kind of trees, vineyards, and tilled fields, and expensive farm fixtures; whereas the districts of his own friends had been pillaged to such an extent that it was impossible to tell whether they had ever been settled.

The same man, when, upon his retreat, he beheld the army of Laevinus much larger than it had been before, declared that the Roman legions when cut to pieces grew whole again, hydra-fashion. This did not, however, cause him to lose courage, but he in turn arrayed his forces, though he did not join battle.

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on through Etruria with the object of winning the people there also to his cause. Upon learning, however, that they had made a treaty with the Romans and that Tiberius was moving to meet him, while Laevinus was dogging his footsteps, he became afraid of being cut off on all sides by them while he was in unfamiliar regions, and he advanced no farther. When, now, as he was retreating and had reached the vicinity of Campania, Laevinus confronted him with an army much larger than it had been before, he declared that the Roman legions when cut to pieces grew whole again, hydra-fashion. And he in turn arrayed his forces, though he did not join battle. In order

bably due to the excerptor. [4] ἧττον Bk., ἤγαγον Ms.
[5] ἀλλ' added by Bk.

29 *Ὅτι ὁ Πύρρος πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Φαβρίκιον προσιέναι πυθόμενος, φρουράν τέ σφισι πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια, μὴ καὶ βίαιόν τι ὑπὸ τῶν Ταραντίνων πάθωσιν, ἔπεμψε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπήντησεν, ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐσαγαγὼν καὶ ἐξένισε λαμπρῶς καὶ τἆλλα ἐδεξιώσατο, ἐλπίσας σπονδῶν τε δεῖσθαι καὶ ὁμολογίαν οἵαν ἡττηθέντας εἰκὸς ἦν ποιήσεσθαι.*—U[R] 5 (p. 376).

30 *Ὅτι τοῦ Φαβρικίου αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον εἰπόντος, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἔπεμψαν τούς τε ἑαλωκότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κομιουμένους καὶ λύτρα ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀντιδώσοντας, ὅσα ἂν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν συμβῇ, διηπορήθη τε ὅτι μὴ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβεύειν ἔφη, καὶ μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐβου-*

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καταπλήξων πρὸ τῆς συμπλοκῆς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας τὰς ἀσπίδας τοῖς δόρασι πλήξαντας ἐκβοῆσαι καὶ τοὺς σαλπιγκτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας συνηχῆσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ κἀκεῖνοι πολὺ μεῖζον ἀντεβόησαν, ὡς ἐκπλαγῆναι τοὺς τοῦ Πύρρου, οὐκέτ' ἠθέλησε συμμῖξαι, ἀλλ' ὡς δυσιερῶν ἐπανήγαγε. καὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τάραντα. ἔνθα πρέσβεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀφίκοντο ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Φαβρίκιος. οὓς φιλοτίμως ἐξένισε καὶ ἐδεξιώσατο, ἐλπίσας αὐτοὺς σπείσασθαι καὶ ὁμολογίαν ὡς ἡττημένους ποιήσασθαι. τοῦ δὲ Φαβρικίου τοὺς ἑαλωκότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κομίσασθαι αἰτοῦντος ἐπὶ λύτροις τοῖς ἀμφοῖν συναρέσουσι, διηπορήθη ὅτι μὴ καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης πρεσβεύειν ἔφη, καὶ ἰδίᾳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐβου-

Pyrrhus, when he learned that Fabricius and other envoys were approaching to treat on behalf of the captives, not only sent a guard for them as far as the border, to the end that they should suffer no violence at the hands of the Tarentines, but also went to meet them later, escorted them into the city, entertained them splendidly, and honoured them in other ways, expecting that they would ask for a truce and make such terms as became those who had been defeated.

Fabricius merely made this statement: "The Romans have sent us to get back the men captured in battle, and to pay ransoms for them of such size as shall be agreed upon by both of us." Thereupon Pyrrhus was quite dumbfounded because the envoy did not say that he was commissioned to treat about

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to terrify the Romans he had ordered his own soldiers before joining battle to smite their shields with their spears and utter a shout while the trumpeters and the elephants raised a united blare; but when the other side raised a much greater shout, actually terrifying the followers of Pyrrhus, he no longer cared to come to close quarters, but retired, as if he found the omens bad. And he arrived at Tarentum. Thither came Roman envoys, including Fabricius, to treat on behalf of the captives. These he entertained lavishly and showed them honour, expecting that they would conclude a truce and make terms now they were defeated. But Fabricius asked that he might get back the men captured in battle for such ransom as should be satisfactory to both. Thereupon Pyrrhus, quite dumbfounded because the envoy did not say that he was commissioned to treat about peace also, took

λεύετο μετὰ τῶν φίλων ὧνπερ εἰώθει, τὸ μέν τι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον περί τε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ περὶ τῆς διαχειρίσεως αὐτοῦ, εἴτε κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως πως αὐτὸν . . .[1]—M. 101 (p. 173).

31 “. . . μεταχειρίσασθαι ἢ[2] μάχας καὶ παρατάξεις ἀσταθμήτους ἀναρρῖψαι· ὥστε πεισθείς, ὦ Μίλων, ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ παλαιῷ λόγῳ, μηδὲ ἐς ἄλλο τι βίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ σοφίᾳ, ὅπου γε καὶ ἐνδέχεται, χρήσῃ, ἐπεὶ Πύρρος γε πάντα τὰ πρακτέα οἱ ἀκριβῶς οἶδε καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν μαθεῖν.” ταῦτ' εἶπε, καὶ πάντες ὁμογνώμονες ἐγένοντο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐκ μὲν τούτων οὔτε ζημιωθήσεσθαί τι οὔτε κινδυνεύσειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν
32 ἑτέρων ἑκάτερον πείσεσθαι ἔμελλον. καὶ ὁ

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λεύετο, ὡς εἰώθει, περὶ τῆς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀποδόσεως καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅπως τοῦτον μεταχειρίσηται. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μίλων μήτε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδόσθαι μήτε σπείσασθαι συνεβούλευεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡττημένων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πολέμῳ προσκατεργάσασθαι, ὁ δὲ Κινέας τοὐναντίον ἅπαν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευε· τούς τε γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους προῖκα ἀποδοῦναι συνῄνει καὶ πρέσβεις εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ χρήματα πέμψαι τῆς εἰρήνης ἕνεκα καὶ σπονδῶν. οὗ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συνετίθεντο. οὕτω δὲ φρονῶν καὶ ὁ Πύρρος

[1] Four pages are here wanting in the Ms. [2] ἢ Bk., ἐς Ms.

peace; and after removing them he took counsel with the friends who were usually his advisers, partly, to be sure, about the return of the captives, but chiefly about the war and its conduct, whether energetically or in some other way it . . .

". . . to manage, or to run the risk of battles and combats, the outcome of which is doubtful. Do you therefore heed me, Milo, and the old proverb, and do not, either on the present occasion or any other, employ violence rather than skill, at least when the latter is possible; for Pyrrhus knows precisely what he has to do and does not need to be enlightened by us regarding a single detail." By this speech [of Cineas] they were brought to a unanimous decision, particularly because this course entailed neither loss nor danger, whereas the others were likely to involve both. And Pyrrhus, being of

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counsel privately with his friends, as was his wont, about the return of the captives, but also about the war and how he should conduct it. Milo advised neither returning the captives nor making a truce, but overcoming all remaining resistance by war, since the Romans were already defeated; Cineas, however, gave advice just the opposite of his: he approved of surrendering the captives without price and sending envoys and money to Rome for the purpose of obtaining an armistice and peace. In his opinion the rest also concurred, and Pyrrhus, too,

Πύρρος οὕτω φρονῶν εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις "οὔτε πρότερον ἑκὼν ὑμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπολέμησα, οὔτ' ἂν νῦν πολεμήσαιμι· φίλος τε γὰρ ὑμῖν[1] γενέσθαι περὶ παντὸς ποιοῦμαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τούς τε αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἄνευ λύτρων ἀφίημι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην σπένδομαι." καὶ ἰδίᾳ τούτους ἐθεράπευεν, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνθέλωνται, εἰ δὲ μή, τήν γε φιλίαν οἱ πρυτανεύσωσιν.—M. 102 (p. 173).

33 Ὁ δὲ Πύρρος τούς τε ἄλλους προσηταιρίσατο καὶ τῷ Φαβρικίῳ διελέχθη ὧδε· "ἐγώ, ὦ Φαβρίκιε, πολεμεῖν μὲν ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἔτι δέομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἐπείσθην καὶ δεῦρο ἦλθον μεταγιγνώσκω, καίπερ πολὺ ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κρατήσας· φίλος δὲ δὴ καὶ πᾶσι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις[2] ἡδέως ἂν ἐγενόμην, μάλιστα δὲ δὴ σοί·

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ἐτύγχανε. καλέσας οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις "οὔτε πρῴην, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι," ἔφη, "ἑκὼν ὑμῖν ἐπολέμησα οὔτε νῦν πολεμήσαιμι· φίλος γὰρ ὑμῖν γενέσθαι βεβούλημαι· διὸ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὑμῖν ἄνευ λύτρων ἀφίημι καὶ σπείσασθαι ἀξιῶ."

Ταῦτα μὲν πᾶσιν εἰρήκει τοῖς πρέσβεσι, καὶ χρήματα σφίσι τὰ μὲν δέδωκε, τὰ δὲ ἐπηγγείλατο, τῷ δὲ Φαβρικίῳ κατὰ μόνας διαλεχθεὶς "φίλος," εἶπεν, "ἡδέως καὶ πᾶσιν ἂν Ῥωμαίοις γενοίμην, μάλιστα δὲ σοί· ὁρῶ γάρ σε ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ

[1] ὑμῖν Bs., ὑμῶν (?) Ms. [2] Ῥωμαίοις Gros, Ῥωμαίων Ms.

this mind, said to the ambassadors: "Not willingly, Romans, did I make war upon you earlier, and I will not war against you now; I feel that it is of the highest importance to become your friend, and for this reason I release all the captives without ransom and make peace." Privately, also, he showed these men favour, in order that they might, if possible, espouse his cause, or at any rate might obtain the desired friendship for him.

Pyrrhus in addition to making friends of the rest conversed with Fabricius as follows: "Fabricius, I do not wish to be at war with you Romans any longer, and indeed I repent that I heeded the Tarentines in the first place and came hither, although I have beaten you badly in battle. I would gladly, then, be a friend to all the Romans, but most of all to you. For I see that you are

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chanced to be of this mind. Having summoned the ambassadors, therefore, he said: "Not willingly, Romans, did I lately make war upon you, and I will not war against you now. It has been my desire to become your friend. Wherefore I release to you the captives without ransom, and am ready to make peace."

These words he addressed to the envoys as a body, and he gave them money, with the promise of more; but in conversation with Fabricius alone he said: "I would gladly become a friend to all the Romans, but most of all to you. For I see that

πάνυ γάρ σε καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐλλόγιμον[1] *ἄνδρα ὁρῶ ὄντα. τήν τε οὖν εἰρήνην συμπρᾶξαί σέ μοι ἀξιῶ, καὶ οἴκαδε*[2] *ἐπισπέσθαι· ἐπί τε γὰρ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσείω καὶ συμβούλου στρατηγοῦ*
34 *τέ σου δέομαι." ὁ οὖν Φαβρίκιος "ἐπαινῶ μέν σε," εἶπεν, "ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ μεταγιγνώσκεις καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖς, καί σοι πρὸς αὐτήν, εἴγε συμφέρει ἡμῖν, σπουδάσω (οὐ γάρ που καὶ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τι πρᾶξαί με ἀγαθόν, ὡς φής, ἄνδρα ὄντα ἀξιώσεις), σύμβουλον δὲ δὴ καὶ στρατηγὸν μηδένα ποτὲ ἐκ δημοκρατίας παραλάβῃς· ἔμοιγ'*[3] *οὐδ' ἡτισοῦν ἐστι*[4] *σχολή. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τούτων τι λάβοιμι*[5] *ἄν,*[6] *ὅτι οὐ προσ-*
35 *ήκει τὸ παράπαν πρεσβευτὴν δωροδοκεῖν. πυνθάνομαι γοῦν πότερον ἐλλόγιμόν με ὡς ἀληθῶς νομίζεις ἄνδρα εἶναι ἢ οὔ· εἰ μὲν γὰρ φαῦλός εἰμι,*

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τὴν εἰρήνην συμπρᾶξαί μοι ἀξιῶ." ταῦτα λέγων καὶ δῶρα αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐδίδου. ὁ δὲ "ἐπαινῶ σε," εἶπεν, "ὦ Πύρρε, ὅτι τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖς, καί σοι αὐτήν, ἄν γε συμφέρῃ ἡμῖν, καταπράξομαι. οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τι πρᾶξαί με ἀγαθόν, ὡς φής, ἄνδρα ὄντα ἀξιώσεις. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων ὧν δίδως τι λάβοιμι ἄν. πυνθάνομαι γάρ σου, πότερον ἐλλόγιμόν με ὡς ἀληθῶς νομίζεις ἄνδρα ἢ οὔ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ φαῦλός εἰμι, πῶς με δώρων

[1] *καὶ ἐλλόγιμον* supplied by Bs. from Zon. There is a space of about ten letters in the Ms. [2] *οἴκαδε* v. Herw., *οἴκαδε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἤπειρον* Ms. [3] The Ms. has *ἐμοὶ* before *ἔμοιγ'*, deleted by Mai. [4] *οὐδ' ἡτισοῦν ἐστι* v. Herw., *οὐ δή τι οὖν ἐστι* Ms. [5] *λάβοιμι* supplied by Mai. [6] *ἄν* Gros, *ἀλλ'* Ms.

a thoroughly upright and reputable man. Accordingly, I ask you to help me in securing peace and furthermore to accompany me home. I am desirous of making a campaign against Greece and need you as adviser and general." Fabricius replied: "I commend you both for repenting of your expedition and for desiring peace, and will cordially assist you in that purpose, if it is to our advantage; for of course you will not ask me, an upright man as you say, to do anything against my country. But an adviser and general you must never choose from a democracy; as for me, I have no leisure whatever. Nor could I ever accept any of these presents, because it is not seemly for an ambassador to receive gifts at all. I ask, now, whether in very truth you regard me as a reputable man or not. For, if I am a scoundrel,

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you are an upright man, and I ask you to help me in securing peace." With these words he offered to bestow upon him a number of gifts. But Fabricius said: "I commend you, Pyrrhus, for desiring peace, and I will secure it for you, if it shall prove to our advantage. For you will not ask me, an upright man, as you say, to do anything against my country. Nay, I would not even accept any of these things which you offer. I ask you, now, whether in very truth you regard me as a reputable man or not. For, if I am a scoundrel, how is it that you deem

πῶς με δώρων ἄξιον κρίνεις; εἰ δὲ χρηστός, πῶς με λαβεῖν αὐτὰ κελεύεις; εὖ τοίνυν ἴσθ' ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἔχω καὶ οὐδὲν δέομαι πλειόνων· ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι τὰ ὄντα, καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμῶ· σὺ δ' εἰ καὶ σφόδρα πλουτεῖν νομίζεις, ἐν πενίᾳ μυρίᾳ καθέστηκας· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὔτε τὴν Ἤπειρον οὔτε τἆλλα[1] ὅσα κέκτησαι καταλιπὼν δεῦρ' ἐπεραιώθης, εἴγε ἐκείνοις τε
36 ἠρκοῦ καὶ μὴ πλειόνων ὠρέγου. ὅταν γάρ τις τοῦτο πάσχῃ καὶ μηδένα ὅρον τῆς ἀπληστίας ποιῆται, πτωχότατός ἐστι. διὰ τί; ὅτι πᾶν τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχον αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ποθεῖ, καθάπερ ἄνευ ἐκείνου μὴ δυνάμενος ζῆσαι. ὥστ' ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἄν σοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ φίλος μοι φῂς εἶναι, ἐκ τοῦ ἐμαυτοῦ τι πλούτου χαρισαίμην· πολλῷ γάρ τοι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερος καὶ ἀθανατώτερός ἐστι τοῦ σοῦ, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτῷ φθονεῖ οὔτε τις ἐπιβουλεύει, οὐ δῆμος, οὐ τύραννος· καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὅσῳ τις ἂν αὐτοῦ πλείοσι μεταδιδῷ,

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ἄξιον κρίνεις; εἰ δὲ χρηστός, πῶς με λαβεῖν αὐτὰ κελεύεις; ἴσθι γοῦν ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἔχω, τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀρκούμενος, καὶ πλειόνων οὐ δέομαι· σὺ δ' εἰ καὶ σφόδρα πλουτεῖς, ἐν πενίᾳ μυρίᾳ καθέστηκας. οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὔτε τὴν Ἤπειρον οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα ἃ ἔχεις καταλιπὼν δεῦρο ἐπεραιώθης, εἴ γε ἐκείνοις ἠρκοῦ καὶ μὴ πλειόνων ὠρέγου."

[1] οὔτε τἆλλα v. Herw., οὔτ' ἄλλα Ms.

how is it that you deem me worthy of gifts? If, on the other hand, I am a man of honour, how can you bid me accept them? Be well assured, then, that I have many possessions and am in no need of more; what I have satisfies me, and I feel no desire for what belongs to others. You, however, even if you believe yourself ever so rich, are in unspeakable poverty. For you would not have crossed over to this land, leaving behind Epirus and the rest of your dominions, if you had been content with them and had not been reaching out for more. Whenever a man is in this condition and sets no limit to his greed, he is the poorest of beggars. Why? Because he longs for everything not his own, as if it were absolutely necessary, and with the idea that he cannot live without it. Consequently I would gladly, since you call yourself my friend, afford you some of my own wealth. It is far more secure and imperishable than yours, and no one envies it or plots against it—neither populace nor tyrant; best of all, the larger the number of persons

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me worthy of gifts? If, on the other hand, I am a man of honour, how can you bid me accept them? Be then assured that I have very many possessions, that I am satisfied with what I now have, and feel no need of more. You, however, even if you are ever so rich, are in unspeakable poverty. For you would not have crossed over to this land, leaving behind Epirus and the rest of your possessions, if you had been content with them and had not been reaching out for more."

37 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ μεῖζον αὔξεται. τίς οὖν οὗτός ἐστιν; τὸ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσί τινι ὡς καὶ παμπληθέσιν οὖσιν ἡδέως χρῆσθαι, τὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὡς καὶ μέγα τι κακὸν ἐχόντων ἀπέχεσθαι, τὸ μηδένα ἀδικεῖν, τὸ πολλοὺς εὐεργετεῖν, ἄλλα μυρία ἃ σχολῇ ἄν τις ἄγων εἴποι. ὥστ'[1] ἔγωγε βουλοίμην ἄν, εἴπερ που πάντως ἀναγκαῖον εἴη θάτερον αὐτῶν παθεῖν, βιασθεὶς ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ φενακισθεὶς ἀπολέσθαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἀξιώσει φιλεῖ τισι συμβαίνειν, τὸ δὲ ἔκ τε ἀνοίας καὶ ἐξ αἰσχρο-
38 κερδείας πολλῆς, ὥσθ' αἱρετώτερον εἶναι τῇ[2] τοῦ θείου πλεονεξίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κακίᾳ σφαλῆναι· ἐν ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμά τινος ἡττᾶται, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ προσδιαφθείρεται· . . . ,[3] ἐνταυθοῖ δ' αὐτοέντης τρόπον τινὰ αὐτός τις ἑαυτοῦ γίγνεται, ὅτι ὁ τὴν ψυχὴν ἅπαξ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ μὴ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι διδάξας ἀόριστον τὴν τῆς πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμίαν λαμβάνει. —M. 103 (p. 174) and ἐλλόγιμον—κελεύεις § 35 Max. Conf. Flor. f. 75ᵛ (M. p. 538).

39 Καὶ προθυμότατα ἐς τοὺς καταλόγους ἀπήντησαν, τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἐλλιπὲς ἀνάστασιν τῆς πατρίδος[4] νομίζοντες ἔσεσθαι.—M. 104 (p. 176).

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Τούτων οὕτω λεχθέντων οἱ πρέσβεις τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες ἀπῄεσαν. καὶ ὁ Πύρρος τὸν

[1] ὥστ' Bs., ὡς Ms. [2] τῇ Bk., τι τῇ Ms. [3] Lacuna recognized by Bk. [4] πατρίδος Mai, πατρίδος εἶναι Ms.

who share it, the greater it will grow. In what, then, does it consist? In using what one has with as much satisfaction as if it were inexhaustible, in keeping one's hands off the possessions of others as if they contained some mighty curse, in wronging no man, in doing good to many, and a thousand other things which I could name if I had leisure. I, for my part, should choose, if it were absolutely necessary to suffer either one or the other, to perish by violence rather than by deceit. The former fate falls to the lot of some by the decree of Fortune, but the latter only as a result of folly and great greed of gain. It is, therefore, preferable to be overthrown by the superior might of Heaven rather than by one's own baseness. In the former instance a man's body is brought low, but in the latter his soul is ruined as well; . . . while in this case a man becomes to a certain extent the slayer of himself, because he who has once taught his soul not to be content with the fortune already possessed, acquires a boundless desire for increased wealth."

And they presented themselves for the enlistment with the greatest zeal, each believing that his own failure to serve would mean the overthrow of the fatherland.

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After this conversation had taken place as recounted, the envoys took the captives and departed.

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Κιννέαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε μετὰ χρυσίου πολλοῦ καὶ κόσμου γυναικείου παντοδαποῦ, ἵνα εἰ καί τινες τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀντίσχοιεν, ἀλλ' αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τοῖς κόσμοις ἀναπεισθεῖσαι κἀκείνους συνδιαφθείρωσιν. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Κιννέας οὐ προσῄει τῇ γερουσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ διῆγεν ἄλλοτε ἄλλην αἰτίαν σκηπτόμενος. περιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν οἰκίας λόγοις τε σφᾶς καὶ δώροις ὑπήγετο· καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς ᾠκειώσατο, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἶπεν ὡς "Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπολογεῖται ὅτι οὐχ ὡς πολεμήσων ὑμῖν ἧκεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καταλλάξων Ταραντίνους αὐτὸν ἱκετεύοντας· ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς ἁλόντας ὑμῶν λύτρων ἀφῆκεν ἄτερ, καὶ δυνάμενος πορθῆσαι τὴν χώραν καὶ τῇ πόλει προσβαλεῖν, ἀξιοῖ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑμῶν ἐγγραφῆναι, πολλὰ μὲν ὠφελήσεσθαι ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐλπίζων, πλείω δ' ἔτι καὶ μείζω εὐεργετήσειν ὑμᾶς."

Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ πλείους τῶν βουλευτῶν ἠρέσκοντο διὰ τὰ δῶρα καὶ διὰ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀλλ' ἐσκόπουν ἔτι πλείους ἡμέρας ὅ τι χρὴ πρᾶξαι. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλέγετο, ἐπεκράτει δὲ ὅμως σπείσασθαι. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο Ἄππιος ὁ τυφλὸς ἐκομίσθη ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον (ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ γήρως καὶ τοῦ πάθους οἰκουρῶν ἦν) καὶ εἶπε μὴ συμφέρειν τὰς πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον συμβάσεις τῇ πολιτείᾳ, παρῄνεσε δὲ καὶ αὐτίκα τὸν Κιννέαν ἐξελάσαι τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ

BOOK IX

Zonaras 8, 4.

Pyrrhus despatched Cineas to Rome with a large amount of gold and women's apparel of every description, so that even if some of the men should resist, their wives, at least, won by the appeal of the finery, might corrupt them along with themselves. Cineas on coming to the city did not seek an audience with the senate, but lingered about, alleging now one reason, now another. He was visiting the houses of leading men, and by his conversation and gifts was gradually extending his influence over them. When he had won over a large number, he entered the senate-chamber and spoke as follows: "King Pyrrhus offers as his defence the fact that he came not to make war upon you, but to reconcile the Tarentines, in answer to their entreaties. And what is more, he has released your prisoners, waiving ransom, and though he might have ravaged your country and assaulted your city, he asks to be enrolled among your friends and allies, hoping to gain much assistance from you and to render you still more and greater benefits in return."

Thereupon the greater part of the senators were pleased because of the gifts and because of the captives; however, they made no reply, but continued to deliberate for several days more as to the proper course to pursue. There was a great deal of talk, but they were inclined, nevertheless, to make a truce. On learning this, Appius the Blind was carried to the senate-house—for by reason of his age and his infirmity he was confined to his house—and declared that the truce with Pyrrhus was not advantageous to the state. He urged them to dismiss Cineas at once from the city, and through him to make known to

40 Τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ λόγου φύσις ἐστὶ καὶ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τότε μεταβαλεῖν καὶ ἐς ἀντίπαλον καὶ μῖσος καὶ θάρσος τοῦ τε δέους τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν δώρων αὐτοῦ ἀλλοιώσεως περιστῆναι.[1]—M. 105 (p. 176).

42 Ὅτι πᾶν τὸ τῇ γνώμῃ παρὰ δόξαν ταπεινωθὲν καὶ τῆς ῥώμης ὑποδίδωσιν.—M. 106 (p. 177).

Zonaras 8, 4.

δηλῶσαι τῷ Πύρρῳ οἴκαδε ἀναχωρήσαντα ἐκεῖθεν ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι περὶ εἰρήνης αὐτοῖς ἢ καὶ περὶ ἑτέρου ὅτου δέοιτο. ταῦτα ὁ Ἄππιος συνεβούλευσεν· ἡ δὲ γερουσία οὐκέτι ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐψηφίσαντο αὐθημερὸν τὸν Κινέαν ἔξω τῶν ὅρων ἐκπέμψαι καὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον, ἕως ἂν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διάγῃ, ποιήσασθαι. τοῖς δ' αἰχμαλώτοις ἀτιμίαν τινὰ ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἐπέθεσαν, καὶ οὔτε πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἐχρήσαντο οὔτ' ἄλλοσέ ποι ἀθρόοις, ἵνα μή τι ὁμοῦ ὄντες νεωτερίσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἄλλους ἄλλῃ φρουρήσοντας ἔπεμψαν.

[1] περιστῆναι Bk., ἀντιστῆναι Ms.

Such is the nature of oratory and so great is its power that it led even them to change, causing courage and hatred to take the place respectively of the fear inspired by Pyrrhus and the change of heart his gifts had wrought.

Every force which, contrary to expectation, is humbled in spirit, suffers a loss also in strength.

Zonaras 8, 4.

Pyrrhus that the king must first withdraw to his own country and from there make propositions to them about peace or about anything else he might wish. This was the advice Appius gave; and the senate delayed no longer, but forthwith voted unanimously to send Cineas that very day across the border and to wage implacable war upon Pyrrhus, so long as he should remain in Italy. They imposed upon the captives certain degradations in the campaigns, employing them no longer against Pyrrhus or for any other object as a body,—out of apprehension that if they were together they might mutiny,—but sending them to do garrison duty, a few here and a few there.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK X

Zonaras 8, 5.

5. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ χειμῶνι παρεσκευάζοντο ἄμφω, ἔαρος δ' ἤδη ἐφεστηκότος ὁ Πύρρος εἰς τὴν Ἀπουλίαν ἐνέβαλεν, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν βίᾳ, πολλὰ δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ προσεποιήσατο, μέχρις οὗ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς Ἀσκούλῳ πόλει ὄντι αὐτῷ ἐπελθόντες ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. ἐπὶ πλείους δ' ἡμέρας διέτριψαν ὀκνοῦντες ἀλλήλους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς προνενικηκότας οὐκ ἐθάρρουν, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀπονενοημένους ἐδεδίεσαν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. κἀν τούτῳ λογοποιούντων τινῶν ὅτι ὁ Δέκιος ἐπιδοῦναι ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν πάππον ἑτοιμάζοιτο, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Πύρρου δεινῶς ἐκφοβούντων ὡς ἐκ τοῦ θανεῖν ἐκεῖνον πάντως ἀπολουμένους, συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Πύρρος καὶ διειλέχθη περὶ τούτου, συμβουλεύων μήτ' ἀθυμεῖν μήτ' ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοιούτοις λόγοις· μήτε γὰρ ἕνα ἄνθρωπον δύνασθαι θνήσκοντα πολλοὺς καταγωνίσασθαι μήτ' ἐπῳδὴν ἢ μαγγανείαν τινὰ κρείττω τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ λογισμοῖς ἐπικρατύνας τοὺς λόγους ὁ Πύρρος τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐθάρσυνε στράτευμα. καὶ πολυπραγμονήσας τὴν στολὴν ᾗ ἐχρήσαντο οἱ Δέκιοι ἐπιδιδόντες ἑαυτούς, παρήγγειλε τοῖς οἰκείοις, ἄν τινα οὕτως ἐσκευασμένον ἴδωσι, μὴ κτεῖναι αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ζωὸν συλλαβεῖν. τῷ δὲ

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK X

Zonaras 8, 5.

5. During the winter both sides were making their preparations. And when spring was now at hand, Pyrrhus invaded Apulia and gained many places by force, many also by capitulation. Finally the Romans came upon him near a city called Asculum, and pitched camp opposite. For several days they delayed, rather avoiding each other. The Romans were not feeling confident against men who had once beaten them, and the others feared the Romans as men animated by desperation. Meanwhile some were talking to the effect that Decius was getting ready to devote himself after the fashion of his father and grandfather, and by so doing they terribly alarmed the followers of Pyrrhus, who believed that through his death they should certainly be ruined. Pyrrhus then assembled his soldiers and discussed this matter, advising them not to be disheartened or terrified by such talk. One human being, he said, could not by dying prevail over many, nor could any incantation or magic prove superior to arms and men. By talking to this effect and confirming his words by arguments Pyrrhus encouraged his army. He also inquired into the details of the costume which the Decii had used in devoting themselves, and gave orders to his men, if they should see anybody so arrayed, not to kill him, but to seize him alive. And he sent to B.C. 279

43 *Ὅτι τῷ Δεκίῳ ὁ Πύρρος προσπέμψας οὔτε προχωρήσειν οἱ τοῦτο πρᾶξαι ἐθελήσαντι ἔφη*[1] *καὶ ζωγρηθέντα κακῶς αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖσθαι ἐπηπείλησεν. οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο μηδενὸς τοιούτου ἔργου σφᾶς δεῖσθαι· πάντως γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλως κρατήσειν.*—M. 107 (p. 177).

Zonaras 8, 5.

Δεκίῳ πέμψας ἔφη οὔτε προχωρήσειν αὐτῷ τοῦτο πρᾶξαι θελήσαντι καὶ ζωγρηθέντα κακῶς ἀπολεῖσθαι ἠπείλησε. πρὸς ἅπερ οἱ ὕπατοι ἀπεκρίναντο μηδενὸς τοιούτου ἔργου σφᾶς δεῖσθαι· πάντως γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλως κρατήσειν. ποταμοῦ δὲ διὰ μέσου τῶν στρατοπέδων οὐκ εὐδιαβάτου ῥέοντος, ἤροντο πότερον αὐτὸς περαιωθῆναι βούλεται ἀδεῶς, αὐτῶν ἀναχωρησάντων, ἢ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἵν' ἐξ ἀντιπάλου μάχης ἀκεραίων τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθουσῶν ὁ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἔλεγχος γένοιτο ἀκριβής. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς κατάπληξιν τὸν λόγον ἐποίησαν, ὁ δὲ Πύρρος αὐτοῖς ἐφῆκε διαβῆναι τὸν ποταμόν, μέγα φρονῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τά τε ἄλλα παρεσκευάσαντο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας κεραίας ἐφ' ἁμαξῶν σεσιδηρωμένας καὶ πανταχόθεν προεχούσας ἡτοίμασαν, ἵνα τοξεύοντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε καὶ πῦρ ἐμποδὼν σφίσι γίνωνται. προσμίξαντες δέ, χρόνῳ μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐώσαντο δ' οὖν, μέχρις ὁ

[1] After *ἔφη* the Ms. has *τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ μὴ συλληφθέντα ἀποκτανθῆναι*, words manifestly due to the excerptor. Gros first deleted.

BOOK X

Pyrrhus sent to Decius, telling him that he would not meet with any success in case he had made up his mind to do this deed, and threatening besides that if he were taken alive he should perish miserably. To this the consuls answered that they were in no need of resorting to such a deed, since they were sure to conquer him in other ways. B.C. 279

Zonaras 8, 5.

Decius and told him that he should not meet with success in case he had made up his mind to do this deed, and threatened that if he were taken alive, he should perish miserably. To this the consuls answered that they were in no need of resorting to such a deed, since they were sure to conquer him in other ways. There was a river not easy to ford flowing between the two camps; and they inquired whether he chose to cross unmolested himself, while they retired, or whether he would allow them to cross, in order that the forces might encounter each other intact and so from a battle with conditions equal the test of valour might be made an accurate one. The Romans delivered this speech to overawe him, but Pyrrhus granted them permission to cross the river, since he placed great reliance upon his elephants. The Romans, among other preparations, made ready, as a measure against the elephants, iron-pointed beams, mounted on waggons, and bristling in all directions. From these they intended to shoot fire and various missiles, in order to check the beasts. When the conflict began, the Romans forced the Greeks back, slowly but surely, until Pyrrhus,

Zonaras 8, 5.

Πύρρος τοῖς ἐλέφασιν οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἁμάξας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θάτερα προσβοηθήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἵππον σφῶν καὶ πρὶν προσμῖξαι φόβῳ τῶν θηρίων ἐτρέψατο. τῷ μέντοι πεζῷ οὐδὲν μέγα ἐλυμήνατο. κἂν τούτῳ τῶν Ἀπούλων τινὲς ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν ὡρμηκότες στρατόπεδον τῆς νίκης αἴτιοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένοντο. τινὰς γὰρ τῶν μαχομένων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ Πύρρου πέμψαντος πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἐταράχθησαν, καὶ τάς τε σκηνὰς ἑαλωκέναι καὶ ἐκείνους φεύγειν ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐνέδοσαν· καὶ συχνοὶ αὐτῶν ἔπεσον, ὅ τε Πύρρος καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν τέλει πολλοὶ ἐτρώθησαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διά τε τὴν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς ἄκεσιν ἀπορίαν σφόδρα ἐκακώθησαν. ὅθεν ἀπῆρεν εἰς Τάραντα πρὶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αἰσθέσθαι. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι διέβησαν μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ μάχῃ, ὡς δὲ πάντας ἐσκεδάσθαι ἐπύθοντο, εἰς τὰς οἰκείας ἀνεχώρησαν πόλεις· ἐπιδιῶξαι γὰρ διὰ τοὺς σφετέρους τραυματίας οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν. εἶτα οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀπουλίαν ἐχείμασαν, ὁ δὲ Πύρρος τἄλλα τε ἡτοιμάζετο καὶ οἴκοθεν στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα μετεπέμψατο. μαθὼν δὲ τὸν Φαβρίκιον καὶ τὸν Πάππον ὑπάτους ᾑρημένους καὶ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφιγμένους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μεμένηκε γνώμης.

Ἤδη δὲ τῶν ῥηθέντων ὑπάτων ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ὄντων, Νικίας τις τῶν Πύρρῳ πιστῶν δοκούντων ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Φαβρίκιον καὶ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ τὸν Πύρρον δολοφονήσειν. δυσχεράνας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκεῖνος (ἀρετῇ γὰρ καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἠξίου τῶν πολεμίων κρατεῖν ὡς ὁ Κάμιλλος),

Zonaras 8, 5.

bringing his elephants to bear, not opposite their waggons, but at the other end of the line, routed their cavalry through fear of the beasts even before they had come close. Upon their infantry, however, he inflicted no great damage. Meanwhile some of the Apulians had set out against the camp of the Epirots, and by so doing brought about victory for the Romans. For when Pyrrhus sent some of his warriors against them, all the rest became disquieted, and, suspecting that their tents had been captured and that their companions were in flight, they gave way. Numbers of them fell, Pyrrhus and many officers besides were wounded, and later, because of the lack of food and of medical supplies, they incurred great loss. Hence he retreated to Tarentum before the Romans were aware of what he was doing. The consuls crossed the river for battle, but when they ascertained that all had scattered, they withdrew to their own cities, being unable to pursue after the foe on account of their wounded. Then the Romans went into winter quarters in Apulia, while Pyrrhus sent for soldiers and money from home and went on with his other preparations. But when he learned that Fabricius and Papus had been chosen consuls and B.C. 278 had arrived in camp, he no longer adhered to the same purpose.

The aforesaid consuls were now in the midst of their army, when a certain Nicias, one of those believed to be loyal to Pyrrhus, came to Fabricius and offered to assassinate the king. Fabricius, indignant at this, since he wished to overcome the enemy by valour and by main force, as Camillus had done,

45 *Οὔθ' ὅπως τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν πρότερον οὔθ' ὅπως ἀμφοτέρους ἅμα ἀμύναιτο ἔσχεν, καὶ ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ἦν· τό τε γὰρ διελεῖν τὸ στράτευμα ἔλαττον ὂν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐδεδίει, καὶ τὸ τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς κακοῦν ἀφεῖναι δεινὸν ἐποιεῖτο.* —M. 108 (p. 177).

46 *Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἄλλως τε δι' ἀκριβείας αὐτοὺς ἐποιεῖτο, μεῖζον μέρος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ μηδ' ἂν*[1]

Zonaras 8, 5.

κατεμήνυσε τῷ Πύρρῳ τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα· καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτου κατέπληξεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἑαλωκότας τῶν Ῥωμαίων προῖκα αὖθις ἀφεῖναι καὶ πρέσβεις πάλιν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἀποστεῖλαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ἀπᾶραι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκέλευον καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῖς διακηρυκεύεσθαι καὶ τὰς συμμαχίδας αὐτῷ πόλεις κατέτρεχόν τε καὶ ᾕρουν, ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ἐγένετο, πρὶν δὴ Συρακουσίων τινές (ἐτύγχανον δὲ ἐξ οὗ Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐτελεύτησε στασιάζοντες), ἐπεκαλέσαντο αὐτόν, παραδιδόντες οἱ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ἀναπνεύσας γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ προσελπίσας πᾶσαν τὴν Σικελίαν καταστρέψασθαι, τὸν μὲν Μίλωνα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατέλιπεν, ἐν φυλακῇ τόν τε Τάραντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ποιησόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς διὰ βραχέος ἐπανήξων ἀπέπλευσε. καὶ τῶν Συρακουσίων δεξαμένων αὐτὸν καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ἀναθεμένων μέγας ἐν βραχεῖ αὖθις ἐγένετο, ὥστε τοὺς Καρχηδονίους φοβηθέντας μισθοφόρους ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσλαβεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταχὺ πρὸς τοὐναντίον αὐτῷ

[1] ἂν supplied by Bk.

He did not know how he was to repel either one of them [the consuls] first, nor how to repel them both, and was in perplexity. For he feared to divide his army, which was smaller than that of his opponents, and yet to allow one of them to ravage the country with impunity seemed to him a great calamity. B.C. 278

However, he behaved in general toward them with great circumspection, attaching greater credit for his safety to the fact that no one, even if he wished, B.C. 277

Zonaras 8, 5.

informed Pyrrhus of the plot. This action of his so amazed the king that he again released the Roman captives without price and sent envoys once more in regard to peace. But when the Romans made no reply about peace, but as before bade him depart from Italy, and only in that event make propositions to them, and when they kept overrunning and capturing the cities in alliance with him, he fell into perplexity; until at length some Syracusans called on him for aid—they had been quarrelling, as it chanced, ever since the death of Agathocles—and offered to surrender to him both themselves and their city. Hereupon he again breathed freely, hoping to subjugate all Sicily. Leaving Milo behind in Italy to B.C. 278 keep guard over Tarentum and the other positions, he himself sailed away, after letting it be understood that he would soon return. The Syracusans welcomed him and laid everything at his feet, so that in a brief time he again became great, and the Carthaginians in fright secured additional mercenaries from Italy. But presently his fortunes met with

ἐπιθυμῆσαί τινα κακῶς αὐτὸν δρᾶσαι τῷ[1] μηδ' ἂν ἐθελήσῃ δύνασθαι[2] νέμων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τέλει, καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαλεσαμένους αὐτόν, τὸ μέν τι βαρυνόμενός σφισιν[3] ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν κράτει τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι ἐλέγετο, τὸ δὲ καὶ προσυποπτεύων σφᾶς μὴ ὥσπερ αὐτῷ οὕτω καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ προσχωρήσωσιν, ἐξήλασε καὶ διέφθειρεν, . . .—M. 109 (p. 178).

Zonaras 8, 5.

περιέστη τὰ πράγματα τῷ[4] πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τέλει τοὺς μὲν ἐξελάσαι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθεῖραι ὑποπτευομένους αὐτῷ. οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἰδόντες αὐτὸν μήτε ταῖς οἰκείαις δυνάμεσιν ἐρρωμένον μήτε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους δι' εὐνοίας ἔχοντα, τοῦ πολέμου προθύμως ἀντελάβοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας τῶν Συρακουσίων δεχόμενοι δεινὰ αὐτὸν εἰργάσαντο, ὥστε μὴ τὰς Συρακούσας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐκλιπεῖν.

Zonaras 8, 6.

6. Οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ πυθόμενοι ἀνεθάρσησαν καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν τῶν ἐπικαλεσαμένων αὐτὸν ἐτράπησαν. καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους εἰς ἄλλον καιρὸν ὑπερθέμενοι εἰσέβαλον εἰς τὸ Σαύνιον μετὰ ὑπάτων τοῦ Ῥουφίνου καὶ τοῦ Ἰουνίου, καὶ τήν τε χώραν ἐπόρθουν καὶ τείχη τινὰ ἐκλειφθέντα ἔλαβον. οἱ γὰρ Σαυνῖται εἰς τὰ ὄρη τὰ Κρανιτὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτι κρανίαν πολλὴν ἔχουσι, τά τε φίλτατα καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα ἀνεκό-

[1] τῷ Bk., τὸ Ms.
[2] δύνασθαι supplied by Gros.
[3] σφισιν Bk., σφιν Ms.
[4] τῷ Kuiper, τῷ τε Mss.

could harm him than to the probability that no one would desire to do so. For this reason he banished and put to death many who held office and many who had called him in to help in their disputes, partly because he was displeased with them, on account of remarks to the effect that he had become master of the state through their influence, and partly because he was suspicious of them and believed that just as they had come over to his side so they might go over to some one else.

Zonaras 8, 5.

a complete reversal by reason of the fact that he either expelled or slew many who held office and had incurred his suspicions. Then the Carthaginians, seeing that he was not strong in private forces and had not the goodwill of the natives, took up the war vigorously. They harboured the Syracusans who were exiled and harassed him so severely that he abandoned not only Syracuse but Sicily as well.

Zonaras 8, 6.

6. The Romans on learning of his absence recovered courage and turned their attention to punishing those who had summoned him. Postponing till another time the case of the Tarentines, they invaded Samnium with their consuls, Rufinus and Junius, devastated the country as they went along, and took several deserted forts. The Samnites had conveyed their dearest and most valuable treasures into the hills called Cranita, since they bear a large growth of cornel-wood [*krania*]. The Romans, feeling con-

μισαν. καταφρονήσαντες οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι εἰς τὰ εἰρημένα ὄρη ἀναβῆναι ἐτόλμησαν. λασίων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ δυσπροσβάτων ὄντων, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἑάλωσαν.

Οἱ δ' ὕπατοι οὐκέτι κοινῇ τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλήλους αἰτιώμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα, ἀλλ' Ἰούνιος μὲν ἐδῄου μέρος τι τῆς Σαυνίτιδος, Ῥουφῖνος δὲ Λευκανοῖς καὶ Βρεττίοις ἐλυμήνατο. καὶ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα ὥρμησεν ἀποστάντα Ῥωμαίων, μεταπεμψαμένων αὐτὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, φθασάντων δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπαγαγέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Μίλωνος φρουράν, ἧς ἦρχε Νικόμαχος. ἀγνοήσας οὖν τοῦτο καὶ ἀμελῶς τοῖς τείχεσι προσιὼν ὡς πρὸς φίλους ἔπταισεν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπεκδραμόντων αὐτῷ. εἶτά τι ἐπινοήσας στρατήγημα τὴν πόλιν εἷλε· δύο γὰρ ἄνδρας αἰχμαλώτους ψευδαυτομόλους ἐς τὸν Κρότωνα ἔπεμψε, τὸν μὲν εὐθὺς λέγοντα ὅτι ἀπεγνωκὼς τὴν ἅλωσιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα προδιδομένην αὐτῷ μέλλει ἀπαίρειν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἐν ὁδῷ ἐστι διαβεβαιούμενον· καὶ γὰρ ἵνα πίστιν ὁ λόγος ἔχῃ, ἀνεσκευάσατο καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπείγεσθαι. ὁ οὖν Νικόμαχος πιστεύσας τούτοις (καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνήγγελλον), τὸν Κρότωνα λιπὼν ἐς τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἀπῄει σπουδῇ δι' ἐπιτομωτέρας ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἐν τῇ Λοκρίδι γενομένου αὐτοῦ ὁ Ῥουφῖνος ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν Κρότωνα, καὶ λαθὼν διά τε τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ δι' ὁμίχλην τότε συμβᾶσαν εἷλε τὴν πόλιν. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο Νικόμαχος ἀπῄει εἰς Τάραντα· καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ τῷ Ῥουφίνῳ

Zonaras 8, 6.

tempt for them, undertook to ascend these same hills; but since the region was overgrown with shrubbery and difficult of access many were killed and many, too, were taken prisoners.

The consuls now no longer carried on the war together, since each blamed the other for the disaster; but Junius went on ravaging a portion of Samnium, while Rufinus inflicted injuries upon the Lucanians and Bruttians. He then set out against Croton, which had revolted from Rome. His friends had sent for him, but the other party forestalled them by bringing in a garrison from Milo, of which Nicomachus was commander. Ignorant of this fact, he approached the walls carelessly, supposing that he was coming among friends, and suffered defeat when a sudden sortie was made against him. Then, bethinking himself of a ruse, he captured the city. He sent two captives as pretended deserters into Croton—one immediately, who declared that Rufinus had despaired of capturing the place and was about to depart for Locris, which was being betrayed to him, and the other later, corroborating this statement with the report that the consul was already on his way. For, in order that the story might gain credence, he actually packed up the baggage, and affected to be in haste. Nicomachus, accordingly, believed the story, inasmuch as scouts made the same report, and leaving Croton, he set out hastily for Locri by a shorter road. And when he had now arrived in Locris, Rufinus turned back to Croton, and escaping observation because he was not expected and because of a mist that then prevailed, he captured the city. Nicomachus, when he learned of this, went back to Tarentum, and encountering

48 *Ὅτι τῷ Πύρρῳ ὡς οὐδὲν οἱ σύμμαχοι συντελέσαι ἐβούλοντο, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῆς Φερρεφάττης, δόξαν πλούτου μεγάλην ἔχοντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς συλήσας ἐς τὸν Τάραντα τὰ σῦλα ἐπὶ νεῶν ἔπεμψε. καὶ οἵ τε ἄνθρωποι ὀλίγου πάντες ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα τά τε ἀναθήματα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξέπεσεν.*—V. 26 (p. 590).

Zonaras 8, 6.

περιπεσὼν πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε. καὶ οἱ Λοκροὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεχώρησαν.

Τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει Ῥωμαῖοι ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὸ Σαύνιον καὶ ἐς Λευκανίδα καὶ Βρεττίοις ἐπολέμησαν. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος τῆς Σικελίας ἐκπεσὼν καὶ ἐπανελθὼν ἤδη δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Λοκροὺς ἐκομίσατο (τὴν γὰρ φρουρὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποκτείναντες μετέστησαν), ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ Ῥήγιον στρατεύσας ἀπεκρούσθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτρώθη καὶ πλείστους ἀπέβαλε. μεταστὰς δὲ εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα, καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ἐναντία φρονησάντων δικαιώσας τινάς, παρὰ τῶν λοιπῶν σῖτον καὶ χρήματα ἔλαβε, καὶ εἰς Τάραντα ἀνεκομίσθη. κακῶς δὲ πάσχοντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οἱ Σαυνῖται ἐξαναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐποίησαν. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῶν ἐτράπη. τρωθέντος γὰρ πώλου[1] ἐλέφαντος καὶ ἀποσεισαμένου τοὺς ἀναβάτας περιπλανωμένου τε κατὰ ζήτησιν τῆς μητρός, κἀκείνης ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταραχθείσης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλεφάντων θορυβηθέντων, φύρδην ἀνεμίχθησαν ἅπαντα. τέλος δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν, συχνοὺς ἀποκτείναντες καὶ ὀκτὼ ἑλόντες ἐλέφαντας, καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα κατέσχον αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ

[1] *τρωθέντος γὰρ πώλου* Dind., *πώλου τρωθέντος γὰρ* Mss.

BOOK X

When the allies were unwilling to contribute anything for the support of Pyrrhus, he betook himself to the treasuries of Proserpina, which were widely famed for their wealth, plundered them and sent the spoils by ship to Tarentum. And the men nearly all perished in a storm, while the money and offerings were cast up on shore. B.C. 275

Zonaras 8, 6.

Rufinus on the way, lost many men. And the Locrians came over to the Roman side.

The next year the Romans made expeditions into Samnium and into Lucania, and fought with the Bruttians. Pyrrhus, who had been driven out of Sicily and had now returned, was troubling them grievously. He got back the Locrians, after they had killed the Roman garrison and changed their allegiance; but in a campaign against Rhegium he was repulsed, was himself wounded, and lost great numbers. He then retired into Locris, and after putting to death a few who had opposed his cause, secured food and money from the rest and made his way back to Tarentum. But the Samnites, being hard pressed by the Romans, caused him to set forth again; and on coming to their assistance he was put to flight. For a young elephant had been wounded, and shaking off its riders, wandered about in search of its mother, whereupon the latter became excited and the other elephants grew turbulent, so that everything was thrown into dire confusion. Finally the Romans won the day, killing many men and capturing eight elephants, and they occupied the enemy's entrenchments. Pyrrhus, accompanied B.C. 276 B.C. 275

47 *Ὅτι τοῦ Πύρρου ἐκεῖνο δὴ πάντες ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι νεανίσκων τινῶν ἐν συμποσίῳ σκωψάντων αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐξελέγξαι σφᾶς ἠθέλησεν, ὅπως τιμωρήσηται, ἔπειτ' εἰπόντων αὐτῶν ὅτι πολὺ πλείω καὶ χαλεπώτερα ἂν εἰρήκειμεν*[1] *εἰ μήπερ ὁ οἶνος ἡμᾶς ἐπελελοίπει, ἐγέλασε καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτούς.*—M. 110 (p. 178).

Zonaras 8, 6.

Πύρρος σὺν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι διέφυγεν εἰς τὸν Τάραντα, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἤπειρον ἀπέπλευσεν ὡς αὖθις ἐπανήξων, τὸν Μίλωνα μετὰ φρουρᾶς εἰς Τάραντα καταλείψας, δοὺς αὐτοῖς δίφρον ἱμᾶσιν ἐκ τοῦ δέρματος τοῦ Νικίου ἐνδεδεμένον, ὃν ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ ἀπέκτεινεν. τὸν μὲν οὖν Νικίαν οὕτως ἐτιμωρήσατο, νεανίσκους δέ τινας ἐν συμποσίῳ σκώψαντας αὐτὸν τιμωρήσασθαι ἔμελλεν, ἐρωτήσας δ' αὐτοὺς διὰ τί ἔσκωπτον, ἐπεὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν ὅτι "πολὺ πλείω καὶ χαλεπώτερα εἰρήκειμεν ἂν εἰ μὴ ὁ οἶνος ἐπιλέλοιπε," γελάσας ἀφῆκεν αὐτούς.

Πύρρος μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανέστατος ἐν στρατηγοῖς γενόμενος καὶ φόβον πολὺν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐμβαλὼν καὶ πέμπτῳ ἔτει τὴν Ἰταλίαν λιπὼν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐν Ἄργει ἀπέθανε. γυνὴ γάρ τις, ὡς λόγος ἔχει, παριόντα αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους ἐπιθυμήσασα ἐσφάλη καὶ ἐμπεσοῦσα διέφθειρεν αὐτόν. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει ὅ τε Φαβρίκιος καὶ ὁ Πάππος ἐτιμήτευσαν καὶ ἄλλους τε τῶν ἱππέων ἀπήλειψαν καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τὸν Ῥουφῖνον, καίπερ δικτατορεύσαντα καὶ δὶς ὑπατεύσαντα.

[1] *εἰρήκειμεν* Mai, *εἰρήκαμεν* Ms.

All admired the following act of Pyrrhus. Some youths at a banquet had ridiculed him, and at first he wished to convict and punish them, but, afterward, when they declared, "We should have said many other things a good deal worse, if the wine hadn't failed us," he laughed and let them go.

Zonaras 8, 6.

by a few horsemen, made his escape to Tarentum, and from there sailed back to Epirus, leaving Milo behind with a garrison to take charge of Tarentum, inasmuch as he expected to come back again. He also gave them a chair fastened with straps made from the skin of Nicias, whom he had put to death for treachery. This, then, was the punishment that he meted out to Nicias. But in the case of some youths whom he was intending to punish for having ridiculed him at a banquet, he first asked them why they were ridiculing him, and when they answered, "We should have said many other things a good deal worse, if the wine hadn't failed us," he laughed and let them go.

Now Pyrrhus, who had made a most distinguished record among generals, who had inspired the Romans with great fear, and had left Italy in the fifth year to make a campaign against Greece, not long afterward met his death in Argos. A woman, as the story runs, being eager to catch a glimpse of him from the roof as he passed by, made a misstep, and falling upon him, killed him. The same year Fabricius and Papus became censors; and among others whose names they erased from the lists of the knights and the senators was Rufinus, though he had served as dictator and had twice been consul. The reason was

33 Ὅτι Ἀγύλλαιοι[1] ἐπειδὴ ᾔσθοντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους σφίσι πολεμῆσαι βουλομένους, πρέσβεις τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔστειλαν πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν ψηφισθῆναι, καὶ εἰρήνης ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμίσει τῆς χώρας ἔτυχον.—U^a 2 (p. 374).

41 Καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς, ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθείς, ὡς τόν τε Πύρρον κακῶς ἀπηλλαχότα καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐξανομένους ἔμαθε, δῶρά τε αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε καὶ ὁμολογίαν

Zonaras 8, 6.

αἴτιον δ' ὅτι σκεύη ἀργυρᾶ λιτρῶν δέκα εἶχεν· οὕτως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πενίαν οὐ τὸ μὴ πολλὰ κεκτῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολλῶν δεῖσθαι εἶναι ἐνόμιζον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι τοῖς ἐκδημοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κατά τι πρᾶγμα τῇ πόλει διαφέρον ἐξιοῦσι τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δακτύλιος ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἐδίδοτο.

Τῶν Ταραντίνων δέ τινες κακωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίλωνος ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, Νίκωνα προστησάμενοι. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἤνυσαν, τεῖχός τι τῆς σφετέρας χώρας κατέσχον, κἀκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενοι τῷ Μίλωνι ἐπήεσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾔσθοντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πολεμῆσαι σφίσι βουλομένους, πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔστειλαν· καὶ εἰρήνης ἔτυχον.

Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Φιλάδελφος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς, τόν τε Πύρρον κακῶς ἀπηλλαχότα μαθὼν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐξανομένους, δῶρά τε αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε καὶ ὁμολογίαν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡσθέντες πρέσβεις

[1] Ἀγύλλαιοι Leuncl., ἀγύλλαι Mss.

The Agyllaeans [Caerites] when they learned that the Romans were disposed to make war on them, despatched envoys to Rome before any vote was taken, and obtained peace upon surrendering half of their territory. B.C. 273

Ptolemy, nicknamed Philadelphus, king of Egypt, when he learned that Pyrrhus had fared badly and that the Romans were growing powerful, sent gifts to them and made a compact. The Romans, ac-

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Zonaras 8, 6.

that he had in his possession silver plate of ten pounds' weight. Thus the Romans regarded poverty as consisting not in not having many things, but in wanting many things. Accordingly, their officials who went abroad and others who set out on any business of importance for the state received from the treasury a seal-ring in addition to their other necessary expenses.

Some of the Tarentines who had been injured by Milo attacked him, with Nico at their head. But, failing to accomplish anything, they occupied a fortress in their own land, and with that as headquarters kept making assaults upon Milo. When they [1] learned that the Romans were disposed to make war upon them, they despatched envoys to Rome and obtained peace.

And Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, when he learned that Pyrrhus had fared badly and that the Romans were growing powerful, sent gifts to them and made a compact. And the Romans, pleased

[1] The Caerites, as is shown by a comparison with Frag. 33 above. Zonaras, in abbreviating his source, failed to note the change of subject.

ἐποιήσατο. οἱ οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι ἡσθέντες ὅτι καίτοι διὰ πλείστου ὧν περὶ πολλοῦ σφᾶς ἐπεποίητο, πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνταπέστειλαν. ἐπειδή τε ἐκεῖνοι δῶρα παρ' αὐτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπῆ λαβόντες ἐς τὸ δημόσιόν σφας ἀπέδειξαν, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο αὐτά.—U[a] 3 (p. 374).

Zonaras 8, 6.

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνταπέστειλαν· οἳ μεγαλοπρεπῆ δῶρα παρ' ἐκείνου λαβόντες εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ταῦτα εἰσῆγον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ οὐ προσήκατο, ἀλλ' εἴασεν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἔχειν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τούς τε Σαυνίτας διὰ Καρουιλίου ὑπέταξαν, καὶ Λευκανῶν καὶ Βρεττίων διὰ Παπειρίου ἐκράτησαν. καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους ὁ αὐτὸς Παπείριος ἐχειρώσατο. ἀχθόμενοι γὰρ τῷ Μίλωνι, καὶ πρὸς τῶν σφετέρων κακούμενοι τῶν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐπιθεμένων τῷ Μίλωνι, Καρχηδονίους ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Πύρρον τεθνάναι ἔμαθον. ὁ δὲ Μίλων ἐν στενῷ ἑαυτῷ τὰ πράγματα συνηγμένα ὁρῶν, τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ἐφεδρευόντων, τῶν δέ γε Καρχηδονίων ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, παρέδωκε τῷ Παπειρίῳ τὴν ἄκραν, ἐπὶ τῷ ἀβλαβὴς μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀποχωρῆσαι. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι ὡς ἔνσπονδοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέπλευσαν, ἡ δὲ πόλις προσεχώρησε τῷ Παπειρίῳ· καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰς ναῦς αὐτῷ παρέδοσαν καὶ τὰ τείχη καθεῖλον καὶ δασμοφορεῖν ὡμολόγησαν.

Οὕτω δὲ τοὺς Ταραντίνους ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ποιησάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὸ Ῥήγιον, ὅτι τὸν Κρότωνα προδοσίᾳ λαβόντες τήν τε πόλιν

cordingly, pleased that a monarch living so very far away should have come to regard them highly, despatched ambassadors to him in turn. From him the envoys received magnificent gifts; but when they offered these to the treasury, they were not accepted.

Zonaras 8, 6.

with this, despatched ambassadors to him in turn. The latter received magnificent gifts from him, which they desired to place in the treasury; the senate, however, would not accept them, but allowed the envoys to keep them.

After this, they subdued the Samnites through the activity of Carvilius and overcame the Lucanians and Bruttians at the hands of Papirius. This same Papirius subjugated the Tarentines also. The latter, B.C. 272 angry at Milo and harassed by their own countrymen, who, as has been related, had made the attack on Milo, called in the Carthaginians to their aid when they learned that Pyrrhus was dead. Milo, finding himself in a tight place, since the Romans were besetting him on the land side and the Carthaginians on the water front, surrendered the citadel to Papirius on condition of being permitted to depart unharmed with his followers and his money. Then the Carthaginians, inasmuch as they were at peace with the Romans, sailed away, and the city surrendered to Papirius. They delivered to him their arms and their ships, demolished their walls, and agreed to pay tribute.

When the Romans had thus secured control of Tarentum, they turned their attention to Rhegium, whose inhabitants, after taking Croton by treachery,

Zonaras 8, 6.

κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίους διέφθειραν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Μαμερτίνους τοὺς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἔχοντας, οὓς συμμάχους οἱ ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ προσεδέχοντο, ὁμολογίᾳ διεκρούσαντο, ἐκακοπάθησαν δὲ πολιορκοῦντες τὸ Ῥήγιον σπάνει τε τροφῆς καὶ ἄλλοις τισίν, ἕως Ἱέρων ἐκ Σικελίας σῖτόν τε Ῥωμαίοις πέμψας καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπέρρωσε σφᾶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν συνεῖλεν. ἣ τοῖς περιοῦσι τῶν ἀρχαίων πολιτῶν ἀπεδόθη· οἱ δ' ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῇ ἐκολάσθησαν.

Ὁ δέ γε Ἱέρων οὔτε πατρόθεν ἐπιφάνειαν ἔχων τινά, μητρόθεν δὲ καὶ δουλείᾳ προσήκων, Σικελίας ἁπάσης ἦρξε μικροῦ, καὶ φίλος Ῥωμαίοις ἐνομίσθη καὶ σύμμαχος. οὗτος οὖν τῶν Συρακουσίων κρατήσας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Πύρρου φυγὴν καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους εὐλαβηθεὶς ἐγκειμένους τῇ Σικελίᾳ, πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκλινε, καὶ πρώτην χάριν αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρημένην συμμαχίαν καὶ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν ἀπένειμε.

Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ χειμῶνος γεγονότος πολλοῦ, ὥστε τὸν Τίβεριν ἐς πολὺ τοῦ βάθους κρυσταλλωθῆναι καὶ αὐανθῆναι τὰ δένδρα, οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐταλαιπώρησαν, καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα τῆς πόας ἐπιλιπούσης ἐφθάρησαν.

Zonaras 8, 7.

7. Τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει Λόλιός τις ἀνὴρ Σαυνίτης, ὁμηρεύων ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐκδράς, δύναμιν συνελέξατο, καὶ χωρίον τι καρτερὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ καταλαβὼν ἐλῄστευεν. ἐφ' ὃν Κύιντός τε Γάλλος καὶ

Zonaras 8, 6.

had razed the city to the ground and had slain the Romans who were there. They averted the danger that threatened them from the side of the Mamertines in possession of Messana, whom the people of Rhegium were expecting to secure as allies, by coming to an agreement with them; but in the siege of Rhegium they suffered hardships because of the scarcity of food, among other reasons, until Hiero by sending them grain and soldiers from Sicily strengthened their hands and aided them in capturing the city. The place was restored to the survivors among the original inhabitants, while those who had plotted against it were punished. B.C. 270

Now Hiero, who was not of distinguished family even on his father's side, and on his mother's side actually belonged to the slave class, ruled almost the whole of Sicily, and was considered a friend and ally of the Romans. After the flight of Pyrrhus he had become master of Syracuse, and being on his guard against the Carthaginians, who were encroaching upon Sicily, he was inclined to favour the Romans; and the first mark of favour that he showed them was the alliance and the sending of grain already related.

After this came a winter so severe that the Tiber was frozen to a great depth and trees were killed. The people of Rome suffered hardships, and the cattle perished for want of grass.

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7. The next year a Samnite named Lollius, living in Rome as a hostage, made his escape, gathered a band and seized a strong position in his native country, from which he carried on brigandage. Quintus Gallus and Gaius Fabius made a campaign B.C. 269

42 Ὅτι τοιαῦτα πράττοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἀεὶ αἰρόμενοι[1] οὐδέπω ὑπερεφρόνουν, ἀλλὰ Κύιντον Φάβιον βουλευτὴν Ἀπολλωνιάταις τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἀποικισθεῖσιν

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Γάιος Φάβιος στρατεύσαντες αὐτὸν μὲν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ σύγκλυδας καὶ ἀόπλους τοὺς πλείονας ὄντας συνέσχον, χωρήσαντες δ' ἐπὶ Καρικίνους,[2] παρ' οἷς τὴν λείαν ἐκεῖνοι ἀπετέθειντο, πράγματα ἔσχον. καὶ τέλος νυκτὸς ὑπ' αὐτομόλων ὑπερβάντες πῃ τοῦ τείχους ἐκινδύνευσαν ἀπολέσθαι διὰ σκότος, οὐχ ὡς ἀσελήνου τῆς νυκτὸς οὔσης, ἀλλ' ὅτι σφοδρότατα ἔνιφεν· ἐκφανείσης δὲ τῆς σελήνης ἀθρόον ἐκράτησαν τοῦ χωρίου.

Πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα τότε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀργυραῖς δραχμαῖς χρήσασθαι.

Εἶτα εἰς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Καλαβρίαν ἐστράτευσαν, προφάσει μὲν ὅτι τὸν Πύρρον ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ τὴν συμμαχίδα κατέτρεχον, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ ὅτι ἐβούλοντο οἰκειώσασθαι τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ὡς εὐλίμενον καὶ προσβολὴν καὶ κάταρσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοιαύτην ἔχον ὥσθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἐξανάγεσθαί τινας καὶ καταίρειν. καὶ εἷλον αὐτό, καὶ ἀποίκους ἔπεμψαν εἰς αὐτό τε καὶ εἰς ἕτερα. ταῦτα δ' ἀνύοντες καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖζον αἰρόμενοι οὐχ ὑπερέφρόνουν, ἀλλὰ Κύιντον Φάβιον βουλευτὴν Ἀπολλωνιάταις τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ἐξέδωκαν, ὅτι

[1] ἀεὶ αἰρόμενοι Bk., διαιρούμενοι Ms.
[2] καρικίνους BA, κανικίνους C, καρκίνους c.

Though the Romans were achieving such results as these and were ever rising to greater power, they showed no haughtiness as yet; on the contrary, they surrendered to the people of Apollonia (Corinthian colonists on the Ionian Gulf) Quintus Fabius, a B.C. 266

Zonaras 8, 7.

against him, and captured him along with his rabble, most of whom were unarmed; on proceeding, however, against the Caraceni, in whose keeping the robbers had deposited their booty, they encountered difficulties. Finally one night, led by deserters, they scaled the wall at a certain point and came dangerously near perishing on account of the darkness—not that it was a moonless night but because it was snowing fiercely. But the moon shone out, and they at once captured the position.

A great deal of money fell to the share of Rome in those days, so that they even used silver denarii.

Next they made an expedition into the district now called Calabria. Their excuse was that the people had received Pyrrhus and were overrunning their allied territory, but in reality they wished to get possession of Brundisium; for the place had a fine harbour, and for the traffic with Illyricum and Greece there was an approach and landing-place of such a character that vessels would sometimes come to land and put out to sea wafted by the same wind. They captured it, and sent colonists both to this point and to others as well. Yet while accomplishing these exploits and rising to greater power, they showed no haughtiness; on the contrary, they surrendered to the people of Apollonia, on the Ionian Gulf, Quintus Fabius a senator, because he

(Margin notes: B.C. 267 beside "Next they made an expedition into the district"; B.C. 266 beside "they showed no haughtiness; on the contrary, they")

ἐξέδωκαν, ὅτι τινὰς πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὕβρισεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἐκεινόν τι ἔδρασαν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπεμψαν οἴκαδε.—V. 27 (p. 590).

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πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὕβρισεν. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἀπέπεμψαν οἴκαδε ἀπαθῆ.

Ἐπὶ δὲ Κυΐντου Φαβίου καὶ Αἰμιλίου ὑπάτων πρὸς Οὐλσινίους ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ αὐτῶν· ἔνσπονδοι γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς. οἳ ἀρχαιότατοι Τυρσηνῶν ὄντες ἰσχύν τε περιεποιήσαντο καὶ τεῖχος κατεσκεύασαν ὀχυρώτατον, πολιτείᾳ τε εὐνομουμένῃ ἐκέχρηντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὰ πολεμοῦντές ποτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέσχον. ὡς δ' ἐχειρώθησαν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐξώκειλαν εἰς ἁβρότητα, τὴν δὲ διοίκησιν τῆς πόλεως τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐπέτρεψαν, καὶ τὰς στρατείας δι' ἐκείνων ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐποιοῦντο· καὶ τέλος ἐς τοῦτο προήγαγον σφᾶς ὡς καὶ δύναμιν τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ φρόνημα ἔχειν καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἑαυτοὺς ἀξιοῦν. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἔτυχον ταύτης δι' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ τὰς σφῶν δεσποίνας ἠγάγοντο καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας διεδέχοντο, καὶ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἐνεγράφοντο καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐλάμβανον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ σύμπαν κῦρος εἶχον, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰς ὕβρεις τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν αὐτοῖς γινομένας ἰταμώτερον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἀντεπεδείκνυντο. οὔτ' οὖν φέρειν σφᾶς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι πολῖται οὔτε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς δεδυνημένοι ἀμύνασθαι, λάθρᾳ πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλαν. οἳ καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων

senator, because he had insulted some of their envoys. The people there, however, did him no injury, but actually sent him home.

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had insulted their envoys. But they, on receiving him, sent him back home unharmed.

In the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Aemilius[1] they made an expedition tô Volsinii to secure the freedom of its citizens; for they were under treaty obligations to them. These people were the most ancient of the Etruscans; they had acquired power and had erected an extremely strong citadel, and they had a well-governed state. Hence, on a certain occasion, when they were involved in war with the Romans, they resisted for a very long time. Upon being subdued, however, they drifted into indolent ease, left the management of the city to their servants, and used those servants also, as a rule, to carry on their campaigns. Finally they encouraged them to such an extent that the servants gained both power and spirit, and felt that they had a right to freedom; and, indeed, in the course of time they actually obtained this through their own efforts. After that they were accustomed to wed their mistresses, to succeed their masters, to be enrolled in the senate, to secure the offices, and to hold the entire authority themselves. Furthermore, they were not at all slow to requite their masters for any insults and the like that were offered them. Hence the old-time citizens, not being able to endure them, and yet possessing no power of their own to punish them, despatched envoys by stealth to Rome. The envoys urged the senate to convene secretly by night in a B.C. 265

[1] Probably an error on the part of Zonaras for Mamilius.

40,46[a] *Δίων ι' βιβλίῳ "οὗτοι δὲ καὶ προσυποπτεύουσιν ὑμᾶς."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 177, 28.

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νυκτὸς τὴν γερουσίαν εἰς ἰδιωτικὴν οἰκίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐξαγγελθῇ, παρεκάλεσαν· καὶ ἔτυχον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐπακούοντος ἐβουλεύοντο, Σαυνίτης δέ τις παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπιξενούμενος καὶ νοσῶν ἔλαθε κατὰ χώραν μείνας καὶ ἔμαθεν ἃ ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ἐμήνυσε τοῖς τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχουσι. κἀκεῖνοι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπανιόντας κατέσχον καὶ ἐβασάνισαν· καὶ μαθόντες τὰ δρώμενα αὐτούς τε ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πρώτους. δι' οὖν ταῦθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Φάβιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστειλαν. καὶ ὃς τούς τε ἀπαντήσαντας αὐτῷ ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐτρέψατο καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ φυγῇ φθείρας κατέκλεισε τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα τρωθεὶς ἀπέθανε, θαρσήσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπεξῆλθον. καὶ ἡττηθέντες αὖθις ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ ἐπολιορκοῦντο· καὶ εἰς ἀνάγκην λιμοῦ ἐμπεσόντες παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς. ὁ δὲ ὕπατος τοὺς μὲν ἀφελομένους τὰς τῶν κυρίων τιμὰς αἰκισάμενος ἔκτεινε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, τοὺς δὲ αὐθιγενεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες τῶν οἰκετῶν χρηστοὶ περὶ τοὺς δεσπότας ἐγένοντο, ἐν ἑτέρῳ κατῴκισε τόπῳ.

Dio, Book X. "These even suspect you besides."

Zonaras 8, 7.

private house, so that no report might get abroad, and they obtained their request. The senators, accordingly, deliberated under the impression that no one was listening; but a certain Samnite, who was being entertained by the master of the house and was sick, kept his bed unnoticed, and learning what was voted, gave information to those against whom charges were preferred. These seized and tortured the envoys on their return; and when they found out what was afoot, they put to death the envoys and the other more prominent men as well. This, then, was the occasion which led the Romans to send Fabius against them. He routed those who came to meet him, destroyed many in their flight, shut up the remainder within the wall, and made an assault upon the city. In that action he was wounded and killed, whereupon the enemy gained confidence and made a sortie. Upon being again defeated, they retired and underwent a siege; and when they were reduced to famine, they surrendered. The consul scourged to death the men who had seized upon the honours of the ruling class, and he razed the city to the ground; the native-born citizens, however, and any servants who had been loyal to their masters were settled by him on another site.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XI

43 Ὅτι αἰτίαι ἐγένοντο τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορᾶς τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς

Zonaras 8, 8.

8. Ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξαντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαποντίων ἀγώνων· ναυτικῶν γὰρ οὔτι πάνυ πεπείραντο· θαλαττουργοὶ δὲ γενόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς νήσους τάς τε ἄλλας ἠπείρους ἐπεραιώθησαν. Καρχηδονίοις δὲ πρώτοις ἐπολέμησαν, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν οὖσιν ἧττοσιν οὔτε πλούτῳ οὔτε ἀρετῇ χώρας, καὶ ἠσκημένοις τὰ ναυτικὰ πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν, καὶ παρεσκευασμένοις ἱππικαῖς τε δυνάμεσι καὶ πεζαῖς καὶ ἐλέφασι, καὶ ἄρχουσι Λιβύων, τήν τε Σαρδὼ καὶ τῆς Σικελίας τὰ πλείω κατέχουσιν· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν χειρώσασθαι δι' ἐλπίδων πεποίηντο. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα σφᾶς φρονηματίζεσθαι ἔπειθον, καὶ τῷ αὐτονόμῳ λίαν ἐτύγχανον ἐπαιρόμενοι (τὸν γὰρ βασιλέα ἑαυτοῖς κλῆσιν ἐτησίου ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ χρονίῳ δυναστείᾳ προυβάλλοντο), καὶ ὡς αὐτοῖς πονούμενοι προθυμότατα ὤργων.

Σκήψεις δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένοντο Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἐβοήθησαν,

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XI

The causes responsible for the dispute between the two were—on the side of the Romans, that the

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Zonaras 8, 8.

8. At this time the Romans began their struggles oversea; previously they had had no experience at all in naval matters. They now became seamen and crossed over to the islands and to other divisions of the mainland. The first people with whom they warred were the Carthaginians. These were no whit inferior to them in wealth or in the excellence of their land; they were trained in naval science to a high degree of efficiency, were equipped with cavalry forces, infantry, and elephants, ruled the Africans, and held possession both of Sardinia and the greater part of Sicily; as a result they had conceived hopes of subjugating Italy. Various factors contributed to increase their self-confidence, but they were especially proud by reason of their position of independence, since they elected their king under the title of a yearly office and not for permanent rule; and feeling that their efforts were expended in their own behalf, they were brimful of enthusiasm.

The reasons alleged for the war were—on the side of the Romans, that the Carthaginians had assisted

Ταραντίνοις ἐβοήθησαν, τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι φιλίαν τῷ Ἱέρωνι συνέθεντο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, οἷά που πεφύκασιν οἱ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ πλεονεκτεῖν[1] βουλόμενοι τὴν δὲ δόξαν αὐτοῦ αἰσχυνόμενοι, σκήψεις ἐποιοῦντο· ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια
2 ἄλλως ἔχει. δυνάμενοι μὲν[2] γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, αὐξανόμενοι δὲ ἤδη οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀλλήλους τε ὑφεωρῶντο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ ἀεὶ πλείονος κατὰ τὸ τοῖς[3] πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν εὖ πράττωσιν, ἔμφυτον, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ προήχθησαν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, μίαν[4] καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἑκάτεροι τῶν οἰκείων σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ τὸ τὰ τῶν ἑτέρων
3 προσκτήσασθαι νομίζοντες εἶναι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἀδύνατόν τε ἦν δύο δήμους ἔν τε ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει φρονήματί τε ὄντας, καὶ βραχύτατον ὡς[5] εἰπεῖν ταῖς τῆς ναυτιλίας ὀξύτησι διεστηκότας, ἄλλων μέν τινων ἄρχειν, ἀλλήλων δὲ ἀπέχεσθαι ἐθελῆσαι. τοιοῦτον κατὰ

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Καρχηδονίοις δὲ ὅτι φιλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι συνέθεντο τῷ Ἱέρωνι· τὸ δ' ἀληθές, ὅτι ἀλλήλους ὑφωρῶντο, καὶ μίαν σωτηρίαν τῶν οἰκείων ἑκάτεροι ᾤοντο εἰ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσκτήσαιντο. οὕτω διανοου-

[1] πλεονεκτεῖν Bs., πλεῖον ἐκείνου Ms. [2] μὲν supplied by Bk. [3] τοῖς supplied by v. Herw. [4] μίαν supplied by Bk. from Zon. [5] ὡς supplied by Bk.

Carthaginians had assisted the Tarentines, on the side of the Carthaginians, that the Romans had made a treaty of friendship with Hiero. But these they merely put forward as excuses, as those are inclined to do who in reality are seeking their own advantage but are ashamed to be thought to be doing so. The truth is otherwise. As a matter of fact, the Carthaginians, who had long been powerful, and the Romans, who were now growing rapidly stronger, kept viewing each other with jealousy; and they were led into war partly by the desire of continually acquiring more—in accordance with the instinct of the majority of mankind, most active when they are most successful—and partly also by fear. Both sides alike thought that the one sure salvation for their own possessions lay in obtaining also those of the others. If there had been no other reason, it was most difficult, nay, impossible, for two peoples which were free, powerful, and proud, and separated from each other by a very short distance, so to speak, considering the quickness of the voyage, to rule alien tribes and yet be willing to keep their hands off each

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the Tarentines, on the side of the Carthaginians, that the Romans had made a treaty of friendship with Hiero. The truth was, however, that they were viewing each other with jealousy and thought that the only salvation for their own possessions lay in the possibility of obtaining also those of the others.

τύχην συμπεσὸν τάς τε σπονδάς σφων διέλυσε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς συνέρρηξεν.—M. 111 (p. 178).

4 *Ὅτι τὸ ἀγώνισμα λόγῳ μὲν περὶ* Μεσσήνης *καὶ Σικελίας, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἑκάτεροι ἐκεῖθεν ἤδη κινούμενον ᾐσθάνοντο, καὶ τὴν νῆσον, ἅτε ἐν μέσῳ σφῶν κειμένην, ἐπίβασιν τοῖς κρατήσασιν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑτέρους ἀσφαλῆ παρέξειν ἐνόμιζον.*—M. 112 (p. 179).

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μένοις αὐτοῖς συμπεσόν τι τὰς σπονδάς τε διέλυσε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς ἐξηρέθισε· τὸ δ' ἦν τοιοῦτον.

Οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι *ἐκ* Καμπανίας *ποτὲ πρὸς* Μεσσήνην *ἀποικίαν στειλάμενοι, τότε δ' ὑπὸ* Ἱέρωνος *πολιορκούμενοι, ἐπεκαλέσαντο τοὺς* Ῥωμαίους *οἷα σφίσι προσήκοντας. κἀκεῖνοι ἑτοίμως ἐπικουρῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο, εἰδότες ὅτι, ἂν τῆς συμμαχίας αὐτῶν οἱ* Μαμερτῖνοι *μὴ τεύξωνται, πρὸς τοὺς* Καρχηδονίους *τραπήσονται, κἀκεῖνοι τῆς τε* Σικελίας *ὅλης κρατήσουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν* Ἰταλίαν *ἐξ αὐτῆς διαβήσονται. ἡ γὰρ νῆσος αὕτη βραχὺ τῆς ἠπείρου διέχει, ὡς μυθεύεσθαι ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἠπείρωτο. ἥ τε οὖν νῆσος, οὕτω τῇ* Ἰταλίᾳ *ἐπικειμένη, ἐδόκει τοὺς* Καρχηδονίους *ἐκκαλέσασθαι καὶ τῶν ἀντιπέραν ἀντιποιήσασθαι, ἄν γε ταύτην κατάσχωσι, καὶ ἡ* Μεσσήνη *παρεῖχε τοῖς κρατοῦσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ κυριεύειν.*

Ψηφισάμενοι δὲ βοήθειαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι *τοῖς* Μαμερτίνοις, *οὐ ταχέως αὐτοῖς ἐπεκούρησαν διά τινας ἐπισυμβάσας αἰτίας. ὅθεν ἀνάγκῃ πιεζό-*

other. But a chance incident of the following nature broke their truce and plunged them into war.

The conflict nominally concerned Messana and Sicily, but in reality both sides perceived that from this beginning the struggle would involve their own country as well; and they thought that the island, lying, as it did, between them, would furnish to the side that conquered it a safe base for operations against the other party.

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While they were thus disposed, a certain incident broke the truce and provoked them to war. It was of the following nature.

The Mamertines, who had once conducted a colony from Campania to Messana, were now being besieged by Hiero, and they called upon the Romans as a nation of kindred blood. The latter readily voted to aid them, knowing that in case the Mamertines should not secure an alliance with them, they would have recourse to the Carthaginians; and then the Carthaginians would master all Sicily, and from there cross over into Italy. For this island is such a short distance away from the mainland that the story goes that it was itself once a part of the mainland. So the island, thus lying off Italy, seemed to invite the Carthaginians to lay claim also to the land over opposite, could they but occupy Sicily first; and the possession of Messana assured to its masters the control of the strait also.

Though the Romans voted to assist the Mamertines, they did not promptly come to their aid because of various hindrances that occurred. Hence the

5 Ὅτι Γάιος Κλαύδιος ἐλθὼν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἄλλα τε ἐπαγωγὰ εἶπε καὶ ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει τῆς πόλεως ἥκει, οὐ γὰρ δεῖσθαί γε Ῥωμαίους Μεσσήνης οὐδέν· καὶ ὅτι εὐθύς, ἐπειδὰν τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν καταστήσῃ, ἀποπλευσεῖται.[1] κἀκ τούτου καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἤτοι καὶ ἀποχωρῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἤ, εἰ δή τι δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν, ἐς

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μενοι οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι Καρχηδονίους ἐπεκαλέσαντο. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπικαλεσαμένοις εἰρήνην κατεπράξαντο πρὸς Ἱέρωνα, ἵνα μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὴν νῆσον περαιωθῶσι, καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλασσον, Ἄννωνος σφῶν ἡγουμένου. κἀν τούτῳ Γάιος Κλαύδιος χιλιαρχῶν, ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις ὑπὸ Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου προπεμφθείς, εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον ἀφίκετο. διαπλεῦσαι δὲ οὐκ ἐθάρρησε, πολὺ πλεῖον τὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὁρῶν ναυτικόν. ἀκατίῳ δ' ἐμβὰς προσέσχε τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καὶ διειλέχθη αὐτοῖς ὅσα ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου. ἀντειπόντων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, τότε μὲν μηδὲν πράξας ἀνεκομίσθη, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ γνοὺς τοὺς Μαμερτίνους ἐν στάσει ὄντας (οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπείκειν ἐβούλοντο καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐβαρύνοντο), ἔπλευσεν αὖθις, καὶ ἄλλα τε εἶπεν ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει τῆς πόλεως ἥκει, καὶ ἐπειδὰν κατασταῖεν τὰ πράγματα, ἀποπλεύσει· καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἢ ἀποχωρῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν ἤ, εἴ τι δίκαιον ἔχοιεν, τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. ὡς δ' οὔτε

[1] ἀποπλευσεῖται Bk., ἀποπλευ|σθαι Ms.

BOOK XI

Gaius Claudius came to the meeting, and among other remarks which he made to tempt them declared that the object of his presence was to free the city, since the Romans had no need of Messana; and that he would immediately sail away, as soon as he had set their affairs in order. Next he commanded the Carthaginians also either to withdraw, or, if they had any just plea to offer, to submit to arbitration. B.C. 264

Zonaras 8, 8.

Mamertines, under the spur of necessity, called upon the Carthaginians. These effected peace with Hiero both for themselves and for those who had invoked their aid, so as to prevent the Romans from crossing into the island; and under the leadership of Hanno they kept guard over the strait and the city. Meantime Gaius Claudius, a military tribune, B.C. 264 sent ahead with a few ships by Appius Claudius, had arrived at Rhegium. But to sail across was more than he dared, for he saw that the Carthaginian fleet was far larger. So he embarked in a skiff and landed at Messana, where he talked to the Mamertines as long as the time permitted. When the Carthaginians spoke in opposition, he returned without accomplishing anything at the time; but later, ascertaining that the Mamertines were at odds,—they did not wish to submit to the Romans, and yet were weary of the Carthaginians,—he sailed over again. Among other remarks which he made to tempt them he declared that the object of his presence was to free the city, and that as soon as their affairs could be set in order, he would sail away. He also commanded the Carthaginians either to withdraw, or, if they had any just plea, to offer it.

6 κρίσιν καταστῆναι. ὡς δ' οὔτε τῶν Μαμερτίνων τις ὑπὸ δέους ἐφθέγγετο καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἅτε καὶ βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν κατέχοντες βραχὺ αὐτοῦ ἐφρόντιζον, αὔταρκες ἔφη μαρτύριον τὴν σιωπὴν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔχειν,[1] τῶν μὲν ὅτι ἀδικοῖεν, δεδικαιολογῆσθαι γὰρ ἂν εἴπερ τι ὑγιὲς ἐφρόνουν, τῶν δὲ ὅτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμοῖεν· παρρησίᾳ γὰρ ἄν, εἴπερ τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ᾑροῦντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἰσχύος αὐτῶν παρούσης κεχρῆσθαι. καὶ προσυπέσχετό σφισι βοηθήσειν καὶ διὰ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας ὂν καὶ διὰ τὴν αἴτησιν τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἣν ἐπεποίηντο.—M. 113 (p. 179).

Zonaras 8, 8.

τῶν Μαμερτίνων τις ὑπὸ δέους ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν κατέχοντες, οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ἐφρόντιζον, "αὔταρκες," ἔφη, "μαρτύριον παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἡ σιωπή, τῶν μὲν ὅτι ἀδικοῦσιν, εἰ γάρ τι ὑγιὲς ἐφρόνουν, ἐδικαιολογήσαντο ἄν, τῶν δὲ ὅτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐφίενται· ἐπαρρησιάσαντο γὰρ ἄν, εἰ τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων προῄρηντο." καὶ ἐπηγγέλλετο βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς. θορύβου δὲ καὶ ἐπαίνου παρὰ τῶν Μαμερτίνων ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένου εὐθὺς ἀνέπλευσε πρὸς τὸ Ῥήγιον, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον παντὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ βιασάμενος τὸν διάπλουν, τὸ μέν τι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς

[1] τὴν σιωπὴν . . . ἔχειν Bk., ἡ σιωπὴ . . . ἔχει Ms.

Now when not one of the Mamertines, by reason of fear, opened his lips, and the Carthaginians, since they were occupying the city by force, paid little heed to him, he stated that in the silence of both sides he had sufficient evidence. On the part of the invaders it showed that they were in the wrong, since they would have justified themselves if their purposes were at all honest; and on the part of the Mamertines, that they desired freedom, since they would have been quite free to speak, had they chosen the side of the Carthaginians, especially as there was a force of the latter present. Furthermore he promised that he would aid them, both on account of their Italian origin and on account of the request for assistance which they had made.

Zonaras 8, 8.

Now when not one of the Mamertines, by reason of fear, opened his lips, and the Carthaginians, who were occupying the city by force, paid no need to him, he said: "The silence on both sides affords sufficient evidence. On the part of the invaders it shows that they are in the wrong, since they would have justified themselves if their purposes were at all honest; and on the part of the Mamertines, that they covet freedom, since they would have spoken freely if they had espoused the cause of the Carthaginians." And he promised to aid them. At this a tumult of applause arose from the Mamertines. He then sailed back to Rhegium, and a little later forced a passage across with his entire fleet. However, partly because of the numbers and skill of the Carthagin-

7 "Οτι Γάιος Κλαύδιος τῶν τε τριήρων τινὰς ἀπέβαλε καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀπεσώθη· οὐ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦθ' ἧττον οὔτε ἐκεῖνος οὔτε οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι ἀντελάβοντο τῆς θαλάσσης, ὅτι πρῶτον πειρασάμενοι[1] αὐτῆς ἡττήθησαν, ὅπερ που φιλοῦσιν οἱ πρῶτόν τι ἐγχειρισάμενοι καὶ σφαλέντες ποιεῖν, πρὸς οἰωνοῦ τὸ πρόσθεν τιθέμενοι καὶ μηδ' αὖθίς ποτε κατορθώσειν νομίζοντες· ἀλλὰ καὶ προθυμότερον αὐτῆς διά τε τἆλλα καὶ διὰ φιλοτιμίαν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀποτετράφθαι δόξωσι, μετεποιήσαντο.—M. 114 (p. 180).

8 "Οτι ὁ Ἄννων οὔτ' ἄλλως ἐν[2] ἐλαφρῷ τὸν πόλεμον ποιούμενος, εἴ τε καὶ δέοι αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, τὴν γοῦν αἰτίαν τῆς διαλύσεως τῶν σπονδῶν ἐς ἐκεῖνον τρέψαι, μὴ κατάρχειν αὐτὸς[3] νομισθείη, θέλων, ἀπέπεμψε[4] αὐτῷ τὰς ναῦς καὶ

Zonaras 8, 8.

τέχνης τῶν Καρχηδονίων, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον διὰ τὴν τοῦ ῥοῦ χαλεπότητα καὶ χειμῶνα ἐξαίφνης γενόμενον, τινάς τε τῶν τριήρων ἀπέβαλε καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς μόλις εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον ἀπεσώθη.

Zonaras 8, 9.

9. Οὐ μέντοι τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὴν ἧτταν ἀπέσχοντο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κλαύδιος τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζεν, Ἄννων δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν σπονδῶν διαλύσεως εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τρέψαι βουλόμενος, καὶ τὰς ἁλούσας τριήρεις τῷ Κλαυδίῳ

[1] πειρασάμενοι v. Herw., . . . μενοι Ms. [2] ἐν Bs., ἐπ' Ms.
[3] αὐτὸς v. Herw., αὐτῆς Ms. [4] ἀπέπεμψε Bk., προσέπεμψε Ms.

BOOK XI

Gaius Claudius lost some of his triremes and with difficulty got back to safety. Neither he nor the Romans in the City, however, relaxed their attempts to master the sea because they had been worsted when first making trial of it, although this is the ordinary course that people pursue who fail in their first undertaking and think that they can never again succeed, viewing the past in the light of an omen. On the contrary, they applied themselves to the sea with even greater zeal, chiefly because they were ambitious and did not wish to appear to have been diverted from their purpose by the disaster.

Hanno was in no wise disposed to make light of the war, and wished, in case it were bound to occur, to throw the responsibility at least for breaking the truce upon the other man, for fear it might be thought that he himself was taking the initiative. Accordingly, he sent back to him the

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Zonaras 8, 8.

ians, but chiefly owing to the violence of the current and to a storm that suddenly came up, he lost some of his triremes and barely succeeded in getting back safely to Rhegium with the remainder.

Zonaras 8, 9.

9. However, the Romans did not avoid the sea because of their defeat. Claudius proceeded to repair his ships, while Hanno, wishing to throw the responsibility for breaking the truce upon the Romans, sent to Claudius the captured triremes and was restoring

τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πρός τε τὴν εἰρήνην προυκαλεῖτο, καὶ προσπαρῄνει οἱ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὴν θάλατταν.—M. 115 (p. 180).

9 Ὅτι ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐδέξατο, ἀπειλὴν ὑπέρφρονα καὶ νεμεσητὴν ἠπείλησεν· ἔφη τε γὰρ μηδ' ἀπονίψασθαί ποτε τὰς χεῖρας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέψειν, καὶ μετὰ ταύτης ἀπέβαλε καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. —M. 116 (p. 180).

10 Ὅτι ὁ Κλαύδιος καταλαβὼν τοὺς Μαμερτίνους ἐν τῷ λιμένι συνεστραμμένους, ἐκκλησίαν τε αὐτῶν ἐποίησε καὶ εἰπὼν[1] ὅτι "οὐδὲν δέομαι τῶν ὅπλων, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν διαγνῶναι πάντα ἐπιτρέπω," ἔπεισέ σφας μεταπέμψασθαι τὸν Ἄννωνα· μὴ βουληθέντος τε αὐτοῦ καταβῆναι πολὺς ἐνέκειτο κατατρέχων καὶ λέγων ὅτι, εἰ δή τι καὶ

Zonaras 8, 9.

ἔπεμψε καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπεδίδου καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην προεκαλεῖτο αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἐδέξατο, ἠπείλησε μηδ' ἀπονίψασθαί ποτε τὰς χεῖρας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐᾶσαι. ὁ Κλαύδιος δὲ τὴν τοῦ πορθμοῦ φύσιν κατανοήσας, ἐτήρησε τὸν ῥοῦν καὶ τὸν ἄνεμον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἅμα φέροντας, καὶ οὕτω διέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, μηδενὸς ἐναντιωθέντος. εὑρὼν οὖν ἐν τῷ λιμένι τοὺς Μαμερτίνους (ὁ γὰρ Ἄννων προϋποπτεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει καθῆστο φυλάττων αὐτήν), ἐκκλησίαν συνήγαγε, καὶ διαλεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἔπεισε μεταπέμψασθαι τὸν Ἄννωνα. ὁ δὲ καταβῆναι οὐκ ἤθελε· φοβηθεὶς δὲ

[1] εἰπὼν Gros, εἶπεν Ms.

ships and the captives, and urged him to agree to peace; moreover he advised him not to meddle with the sea.

When Claudius would listen to nothing, he uttered an arrogant and outrageous threat. For he declared that he would never allow the Romans even to wash their hands in the sea; yet he lost not only the sea but also Messana not much later.

Claudius, finding the Mamertines gathered at the harbour, called an assembly of their number and made the announcement: "I have no need of arms, but leave it with yourselves to decide everything." By this means he persuaded them to send for Hanno; and when Hanno was unwilling to come down, he denounced him vigorously, inveighing

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Zonaras 8, 9.

the captives; and he urged him to agree to peace. When the other would listen to nothing, he threatened that he would never permit the Romans even to wash their hands in the sea. But Claudius, now that he had become acquainted with the strait, watched for a time when the current and the wind both bore from Italy toward Sicily, and then sailed to the island, encountering no opposition. So, discovering the Mamertines at the harbour, he convened an assembly and talked to them, finally persuading them to send for Hanno; for the latter had already become suspicious of their movements and had established himself on the citadel, which he was guarding. Now Hanno was unwilling to come down, but fearing that

τὸ βραχύτατον δικαίωμα εἶχεν, πάντως ἂν ἐς λόγους οἱ ἀφίκετο καὶ οὐκ ἂν βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν κατεῖχεν.—M. 117 (p. 180).

32c Δίων ια' βιβλίῳ "σὺ μὲν καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς τι πλημμελήσασιν ἐπεξέρχῃ, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συγγιγνώσκω."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 171, 29.

Zonaras 8, 9.

μὴ οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι ὡς ἀδικοῦντος αὐτοῦ νεωτερίσωσιν, ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ πολλῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν μάτην λεχθέντων συνήρπασέ τις τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, συνεπαινούντων τῶν Μαμερτίνων.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ὅλην ἀνάγκῃ τὴν Μεσσήνην ἐξέλιπεν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἐκόλασαν μὲν τὸν Ἄννωνα, κήρυκα δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔπεμψαν τήν τε Μεσσήνην ἐκλιπεῖν κελεύοντες καὶ ἐκ πάσης ἀπελθεῖν Σικελίας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ· καὶ στρατιὰν ἀπεστάλκασιν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τούς τε μισθοφοροῦντας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῇ Μεσσήνῃ προσέβαλον (συνῆν δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων αὐτοῖς) καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπολιόρκουν καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐφύλασσον, ὡς μήτε στράτευμα μήτε σῖτος αὐτοῖς κομισθῇ. ὃ μαθὼν ὁ ὕπατος ἤδη πλησιάζων, ὡς εὗρε συχνοὺς αὐτῶν πολλαχῇ κατὰ πρόφασιν ἐμπορίας ἐλλιμενίζοντας, ἐξηπάτησε σφᾶς ὅπως διέλθῃ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ἔλαθε νυκτὸς τῇ Σικελίᾳ προσορμισάμενος. καὶ προσπλεύσας οὐ πόρρω τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἱέρωνος αὐτίκα συνέμιξε, νομίζων φοβερώτατος

against him and declaring that if the other had even the slightest right on his side, he would certainly have come to a conference with him, and would not persist in occupying the city by force.

Dio, Book XI. "You attack even your friends who have been guilty of any error, whereas I pardon even my enemies."[1]

Zonaras 8, 9.

the Mamertines might allege injustice on his part and revolt, he finally entered the assembly. After many words had been spoken to no purpose by both sides, one of the Romans seized him and, with the approval of the Mamertines, threw him into prison.

Thus, under compulsion, Hanno left Messana entirely. The Carthaginians punished him, and sent a herald to the Romans bidding them leave Messana and depart from all of Sicily by a given day; they also set an army in motion. And when the Romans paid no heed, they put to death the mercenaries serving with them who were from Italy, and made an assault upon Messana, accompanied by Hiero. They besieged the city and kept guard over the strait, to prevent any troops or provisions from being conveyed to the foe. The consul learned of this when he was already close at hand; and finding numerous Carthaginians disposed at various points about the harbour under pretence of carrying on trade, he resorted to deception in order to get safely across the strait, and thus succeeded in anchoring off Sicily by night. His place of landing was not far from the camp of Hiero, and he joined battle without delay, thinking that his sudden appearance

[1] Thought by von Gutschmid to be from Hanno's speech.

11 *Ὅτι ὁ ὕπατος Κλαύδιος τοῖς στρατιώταις*[1] *προσπαρῄνεσε θαρρεῖν μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ χιλιάρχου ἥττῃ καταπεπλῆχθαι, διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὅτι τε αἱ νῖκαι τοῖς ἄμεινον παρεσκευασμένοις γίγνοιντο καὶ ὅτι ἡ σφετέρα ἀρετὴ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων τέχνης προέχουσα εἴη· ἑαυτοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ναυτικῶν δι' ὀλίγου προσλήψεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Καρχηδονίοις μηδέποτε τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου σφίσιν ὑπάρξειν ἔφη· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κτητὸν διὰ βραχέος τοῖς τὸν νοῦν αὐτῷ προσέχουσι καὶ καθαιρετὸν μελέτῃ εἶναι, τὸ δὲ εἰ μὴ φύσει τῳ προσείῃ, οὐκ ἂν διδαχῇ*[2] *πορισθῆναι.* —M. 118 (p. 181).

Zonaras 8, 9.

αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀθρόου φανήσεσθαι. ἀντεπεξελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππικὸν ἠλαττώθη, τὸ δ' ὁπλιτικὸν ὑπερέσχε. καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων τότε μὲν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ἐς δὲ τὰς Συρακούσας ὕστερον ἀπεχώρησεν.

Ὁ οὖν Κλαύδιος, ἀποχωρήσαντος τοῦ Ἱέρωνος καὶ τῶν Μαμερτίνων διὰ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἀναθαρσησάντων, ἐπῆλθε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις μονωθεῖσιν ἤδη, καὶ τῷ σφῶν προσέβαλε χαρακώματι ὄντι οἷον ἐν χερρονήσῳ. ἐντεῦθεν μὲν γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα τοῦτο συνεῖχεν, ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἕλη τινὰ δυσδιάβατα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν αὐχένα, δι' οὗπερ μόνου εἰσῄεσαν στενοτάτου τυγχάνοντος, ἐπεποίητο διατείχισμα. βιαζόμενοι οὖν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐταλαιπώρησαν καὶ βαλλόμενοι

[1] *τοῖς στρατιώταις* Bk., *τοὺς στρατιώτας* Ms.
[2] *διδαχῇ* Mai, *διδαχθῇ* Ms.

BOOK XI

The consul Claudius exhorted the soldiers moreover to be of good cheer and not to be cast down over the defeat of the tribune. He showed them that victories fall to the lot of the better-equipped, but that their own valour was far better than the skill of their opponents. They would soon acquire the science of seafaring, whereas the Carthaginians would never have bravery equal to theirs. For skill was something that could be obtained in a short time by men who gave their minds to it, and could be mastered by practice; but bravery, in case it were lacking in a man's nature, could never be furnished by instruction.

Zonaras 8, 9.

would be most likely to inspire the enemy with fear. When they came out to withstand the attack, the Roman cavalry was worsted but the heavy-armed infantry prevailed. Hiero retired temporarily to the mountains and later to Syracuse.

When Hiero had retired, the Mamertines recovered courage because of the presence of Claudius. Claudius therefore assailed the Carthaginians, who were now isolated, and attacked their rampart, which was situated on a kind of peninsula. For on the one side the sea enclosed it, and on the other some marshes, difficult to traverse. At the neck of this peninsula, the only entrance and a very narrow one, a cross wall had been built. In an attempt to carry this point by force the Romans fared badly and withdrew

[illegible] τοὺς πρέσβεις [1] [illegible] ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπολέμησα [illegible] φίλος τε γὰρ [illegible] καὶ διὰ [illegible] λύτρων [illegible] καὶ ἰδίᾳ [illegible] τὰ ἑαυτοῦ [illegible] οἱ πάντα- [illegible].—[illegible]

33 [illegible] ἑταιρίσατο [illegible] ἐγώ, ὦ Φα- [illegible] δέομαι, ἀλλὰ [illegible] ἐπείσθην καὶ [illegible] πολὺ ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ [illegible] καὶ πᾶσι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις [2] [illegible] ἂν ἐγενόμην, μάλιστα δὲ δὴ σοί·

Zonaras 8. 4.

ἐπήγγειλε. καλέσας οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις "οὔτε πρότερον, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι," ἔφη, "ἑκὼν ὑμῖν ἐπολέμησα οὔτε νῦν πολεμήσαιμι· φίλος γὰρ ὑμῖν γενέσθαι βεβούλημαι· διὸ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὑμῖν ἄνευ λύτρων ἀφίημι καὶ σπείσασθαι ἀξιῶ."

Ταῦτα μὲν πᾶσιν εἰρήκει τοῖς πρέσβεσι, καὶ χρήματα σφίσι τὰ μὲν δέδωκε, τὰ δὲ ἐπηγγείλατο, τῷ δὲ Φαβρικίῳ κατὰ μόνας διαλεχθεὶς "φίλος," εἶπεν, "ἡδέως καὶ πᾶσιν ἂν Ῥωμαίοις γενοίμην, μάλιστα δὲ σοί· ὁρῶ γάρ σε ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ

1 ὑμῖν Bs., ὑμῶν (?) Ms. 2 Ῥωμαίοις Gros, Ῥωμαίων Ms.

... of the following nature
... them into war.
... Messana and
... perceived that from
... involve their own
... that the island
... would furnish to the
... for operation

... incident
... war. It was
... a colony

12 Ὅτι θαρσήσαντες οἱ[1] Λίβυες, ὡς[2] οὐ τῇ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου ἀλλὰ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀρετῇ κεκρατηκότες, ἐπέξοδον ἐποιήσαντο· ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος οὕτως αὐτοὺς δεδιέναι ἐποίησεν ὡς μηδ' ἔξω τοῦ[3] στρατοπέδου παρακῦψαι.—M. 119 (p. 181).

13 Συμβαίνει γὰρ ὡς[4] πλήθει τοῖς μὲν ἐκ λογισμοῦ τι δεδιόσιν ὀρθοῦσθαι διὰ προφυλακὴν αὐτοῦ, τοῖς δ' ἀπρονοήτως θρασυνομένοις φθείρεσθαι δι' ἀφυλαξίαν.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 165ᵛ (M. p. 539).

14 Τὸ μὲν σωφρονοῦν καὶ κτᾶται τὰς νίκας καὶ γενομένας φυλάσσει, τὸ δ' ἀσελγαῖνον οὔτε περιγίγνεταί τινος, κἂν ἄρα εὐτυχήσῃ ποτὲ ἔν τινι, ῥᾷστα αὐτὸ ἀπόλλυσι· κἂν μὲν διασώσῃ τι, χεῖρον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρὰ λόγον εὐπραγῆσαι γενόμενον, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκείνου τι ὀνίναται, ἀλλὰ
15 καὶ αὐτὸ[5] προσδιαφθείρεται. καὶ γάρ πως πᾶν τὸ παρὰ λόγον θρασυνόμενον καὶ δεδιέναι ἀλόγως πέφυκεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς τήν τε γνώμην τῇ προνοίᾳ βεβαίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα πιστὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐχεγγύου αὐτῆς ἔχων, οὔτε καταπτήσσειν τινὰ

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ἀνεχώρησαν. οἱ δὲ Λίβυες θαρσήσαντες ἐπεξῆλθον, καὶ ὡς φεύγοντας ἐπιδιώκοντες ἔξω προεληλύθασι τῶν στενῶν· κἀνταῦθα ἐπιστραφέντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς μηκέτι τοῦ στρατοπέδου προελθεῖν παρ' ὅσον ἦν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ ὁ Κλαύδιος.

[1] οἱ Mai, η Ms. [2] ὡς supplied by Bk. [3] ἔξω τοῦ Bs., ἐξ . τοῦ Ms. [4] ὡς Bs., ὡς ἐπὶ Mss. [5] αὐτὸ Bs., αὐτῷ Mss.

The Africans, taking courage as if they had conquered not through the nature of their position, but by their own valour, sallied forth. But Claudius made them so fearful that they did not even peep out of the camp.

For it usually happens that those who are in dread of something as a result of calculation are successful because of their precaution against it, whereas those who are bold through lack of foresight are ruined because of their unguarded state.

Moderation both obtains victories and preserves them after they are won, whereas license can prevail against nothing, and if it ever should be fortunate in any matter, very easily destroys it. And even if it perchance preserves some conquest, it grows worse by the very fact of undeserved good fortune, and so far from being benefited by its success, is itself actually ruined. Moreover, all boldness that is not in accord with reason is prone to unreasoning fear. Calculation, bringing with it resolution strengthened by forethought and hope rendered reliable by its own trustworthiness, does not allow one

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under a shower of missiles. The Africans then took courage and sallied out, pursuing the fugitives, as they thought them, beyond the narrow strip of land. Thereupon the Romans wheeled about, routed them, and killed many, so that they did not issue from the camp again, at least so long as Claudius was in Messana.

οὔθ'[1] ὑπερφρονεῖν ἐᾷ· ἡ δ' ἀλόγιστος ἐμπληξία πολλοὺς ἔν τε ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἐξαίρει κἀν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταπεινοῖ, οἷα μηδὲν ἕρμα[2] ἔχουσα, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τῷ συμπίπτοντι ἐξομοιουμένη.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 165v (M. p. 539) and from καὶ γάρ πως (§ 15) M. 120 (p. 181).

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Ὁ δὲ βιάσασθαι τὴν πρόσοδον μὴ τολμῶν πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας καὶ τὸν Ἱέρωνα ἐτράπετο, φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καταλιπών. καὶ προσέβαλλέ τε αὐτὸς τῷ ἄστει κἀκεῖνοί ποτε ἐπεξῄεσαν· καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἐκράτουν, ὅτε δ' ἐκρατοῦντο ἑκάτεροι. καί ποτε ἐν χωρίῳ στενῷ ὁ ὕπατος γεγονὼς ἑάλω ἄν, εἰ μὴ πρὸ τοῦ περισχεθῆναι ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἱέρωνα, εἰς συμβάσεις δή τινας αὐτὸν προκαλούμενος. οὕτω γὰρ ἐλθόντος τινὸς πρὸς ὃν ἔμελλε συμβήσεσθαι, διελέγετό τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπαπῄει, μέχρις οὗ πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀπεχώρησε. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ῥᾳδίως ἁλῶναι μὴ δυναμένης, καὶ τῆς προσεδρείας ἀπόρου διὰ σπάνιν οὔσης σιτίων καὶ διὰ νόσον τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἀπανέστη· καὶ οἱ Συρακούσιοι εἵποντο καὶ ἐς λόγους τοῖς σκεδαννυμένοις ᾔεσαν, καὶ ἐσπείσαντο ἄν, εἰ καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων συμβῆναι ἠθέλησεν. ὁ δὲ ὕπατος φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καταλιπὼν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον.

Οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, ἐπεὶ τὰ Τυρσηνικὰ καθειστήκει καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀκριβῶς εἰρήνουν, τὰ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ πλέον συνίστατο, ἄμφω τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐκστρατεῦσαι ἐκέλευσαν. περαιωθέντες οὖν ὅ τε Μάξιμος

[1] οὔθ' Mai, οὐδ' Mss. [2] ἕρμα Bk., ἔρυμα Mss.

to be either dejected or presumptuous. Unreasoning impulse, on the other hand, often elates men in the midst of good fortune and brings them low in disasters, possessing, as it does, no support, but always accommodating itself to the chance event.

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But since he hesitated to force the entrance, he left a garrison behind in Messana, and turned his attention to Syracuse and Hiero. He made assaults upon the city, and the inhabitants would now and then come out to battle. Each side was sometimes victorious and sometimes defeated. One day the consul got into a confined position and would have been captured, had he not, before being surrounded, sent to Hiero an invitation to agree to certain terms. When the man came with whom he was to conclude the terms, he kept falling back unobtrusively, while conversing with him, until he had retired to safety. But the city could not easily be taken, and a siege was impracticable, because of the scarcity of provisions and because of disease in the army. Claudius accordingly withdrew; but the Syracusans followed and held communication with his scattered troops, and they would have made a truce, if Hiero also had been willing to agree to terms. The consul left behind a garrison in Messana and sailed back to Rhegium.

Now that Etruscan unrest had come to a standstill B.C. 263
and affairs in Italy were perfectly peaceful, whereas the Carthaginian power was becoming ever greater, the Romans ordered both the consuls to make an expedition into Sicily. Valerius Maximus and Ota-

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Οὐαλλέριος καὶ Ὀτακίλιος Κράσσος, καὶ διὰ τῆς νήσου ὁμοῦ τε καὶ διχῇ πορευόμενοι, πολλοὺς ὁμολογίᾳ παρεστήσαντο. ὡς δὲ τὰ πλείω ᾠκείωντο, πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας ὥρμησαν. καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων φοβηθεὶς διεκηρυκεύσατο σφίσι, τὰς πόλεις τε ἃς ἀφῄρηντο ἀποδιδοὺς καὶ χρήματα ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐλευθερῶν. καὶ ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ τούτοις σπονδῶν· οἱ γὰρ ὕπατοι ῥᾷον μετ' αὐτοῦ καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐνόμισαν. συμβάντες δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων φρουρουμένας ἐτράποντο. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀπεκρούσθησαν, Ἔγεσταν δ' ἑκουσίαν ἔλαβον. διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οἰκείωσιν οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ, ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰνείου λέγοντες γεγονέναι, προσεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς Καρχηδονίους φονεύσαντες.

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10. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον ἀπῆραν, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ εἰς Σαρδὼ τὸ πλεῖον ἐκόμισαν τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἵν' ἐκεῖθεν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπίθωνται, καὶ ἢ τέλεον οὕτω τῆς Σικελίας ἐκστήσωσιν ἢ διαπεραιωθέντας ἀσθενεστέρους ποιήσωσιν. ἀλλ' οὔτε τούτου οὔτε μὴν ἐκείνου ἐπέτυχον· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τήν τε οἰκείαν ἐφύλαττον, καὶ ἀξιόμαχον εἰς Σικελίαν δύναμιν ἔπεμψαν μετὰ Ποστουμίου Ἀλβίνου καὶ μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Κυΐντου. ἐλθόντες δὲ εἰς Σικελίαν οἱ ὕπατοι ἐπ' Ἀκράγαντα ὥρμησαν, κἀνταῦθα Ἀννίβαν τὸν Γίσγωνος ἐπολιόρκουν. ὃ οἱ ἐν

BOOK XI

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cilius Crassus consequently crossed over, and in their progress through the island together and separately they won over many towns by voluntary submission. When they had gained the majority of the places, they set out for Syracuse. Hiero, in terror, sent a herald to them with offers: he was ready to restore the cities of which they had been deprived, to promise money, and to liberate the prisoners. On these terms he obtained peace, for the consuls thought they could subjugate the Carthaginians more easily with his help. After reaching an agreement with him they turned their attention to the remaining cities garrisoned by the Carthaginians. Now from all the others they were repulsed, but Segesta they took without resistance; for its inhabitants because of their relationship with the Romans—they declare they are descended from Aeneas—slew the Carthaginians and joined the Roman alliance.

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10. Now the consuls on account of the winter departed for Rhegium, while the Carthaginians conveyed most of their army to Sardinia with the intention of attacking Rome from that quarter. They would thus either drive them out of Sicily altogether or would render them weaker after they had crossed over there. Yet they achieved neither the one object nor the other. The Romans both kept guard over their own land and sent a respectable force to Sicily B.C. 262 with Postumius Albinus and Quintus Aemilius.[1] On arriving in Sicily the consuls set out for Agrigentum, and there besieged Hannibal, the son of Gisgo. The

[1] In the *Fasti Capitolini* these consuls appear as L. Postumius Megellus and Q. Mamilius Vitulus. The same corruption of the name Mamilius has already been noted above (p. 375).

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Καρχηδόνι πυθόμενοι Ἄννωνα αὐτῷ σὺν πολλῇ χειρὶ συμμαχήσοντα ἔπεμψαν. ὁ δὲ ἐς Ἡράκλειαν ἐλθὼν οὐ πόρρω οὖσαν Ἀκράγαντος ἐπολέμει. καὶ μάχαι πλείους, οὐ μεγάλαι δ' ἐγίνοντο· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὁ Ἄννων τοὺς ὑπάτους προυκαλεῖτο εἰς πόλεμον, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἐκεῖνον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προυκέκληντο. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἄφθονον εἶχον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τροφήν, οὐκ ἐτόλμων μαχέσασθαι, τῷ πλήθει ἐλαττούμενοι, λιμῷ δὲ τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσειν ἤλπιζον· ἐπεὶ δὲ σίτου ἐσπάνιζον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀποκινδυνεύειν προεθυμοῦντο, ὁ δὲ Ἄννων ὤκνει, ὑποπτεύσας διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν ἐνεδρευθήσεσθαι. διὸ οἵ τε ἄλλοι τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων θεραπεύειν ἠξίουν ὡς ἀκμητὶ νενικηκότων, καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων, ἀπροθύμως αὐτοῖς συναιρόμενος πρότερον, τότε σῖτον αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀναθαρσῆσαι.

Ἄννων δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μάχην συνάψαι, ἐλπίσας καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσπεσεῖσθαι. ὃ μαθόντες οἱ ὕπατοι ἡσύχαζον, ὥστε τὸν Ἄννωνα καταφρονήσαντα τῷ ταφρεύματι προσελθεῖν. ἔπεμψαν δέ τινας κατόπιν αὐτοῦ ἐνεδρεύσοντας. ἐκείνου δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀδεῶς καὶ καταφρονητικῶς ἐπανάγοντος, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐνέδρας καὶ ἐκ τοῦ χαρακώματος αὐτῷ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσέμιξαν, καὶ φόνον πολὺν καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων εἰργάσαντο. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐν τούτῳ ταῖς σκηναῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπελθὼν ἐξεκρούσθη ὑπὸ τῶν φυλαττόντων αὐτάς. ὁ δ' Ἄννων εἰς τὴν Ἡράκλειαν κατέφυγε, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκλιπών. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας νυκτὸς ἐκδρᾶναι τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος βουλευσάμενος, αὐτὸς

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people of Carthage, when apprised of it, sent Hanno with a powerful force to aid him in the warfare. So this leader came to Heraclea, not far from Agrigentum, and engaged in the war. A number of battles followed, though not important ones. At first Hanno challenged the consuls to fight, then later on the Romans challenged him. For as long as the Romans had an abundance of food they did not venture to contend against a superior force, and were hoping to get possession of the city by famine; but when they began to encounter a shortage of grain, they became eager to run risks, while Hanno now showed hesitation, since their eagerness led him to suspect that he might be ambushed. Everybody, therefore, saw fit to court the Romans as easy victors, and Hiero, too, who thus far had co-operated with them reluctantly, now sent them grain, so that even the consuls took heart again.

Hanno now undertook to bring on a battle, in the expectation that Hannibal would fall upon the Romans in the rear, assailing them from the wall. The consuls learned his plan, but remained inactive, and Hanno in scorn approached their intrenchments; and they sent some men to lie in ambush behind him. When now, toward evening, he fearlessly and contemptuously led a charge, the Romans joined battle with him both from ambush and palisade, and wrought a great slaughter of the enemy and of the elephants besides. Hannibal had in the meantime assailed the Roman tents, but was repulsed by the men guarding them. As for Hanno, he abandoned his camp and escaped to Heraclea. Hannibal then formed a plan to steal away from Agrigentum

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μὲν ἔλαθεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι γνωσθέντες οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων ἐκτάνθησαν. οὐ μέντοι συγγνώμης ἔτυχον οἱ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα σφῶν διηρπάσθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπράθησαν ἅπαντες.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι πρὸς τὴν Μεσσήνην διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνεχώρησαν. ὠργίζοντο δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ Ἄννωνος, καὶ Ἀμίλκαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Βαρχίδην ἀπέστειλαν, ἄνδρα τῶν ὁμοφύλων πλὴν τοῦ Ἀννίβου τοῦ υἱέος ἐν στρατηγίᾳ κρείττονα. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν ἐφύλαττεν, Ἀννίβαν δὲ ναυαρχοῦντα ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἔπεμψε τὰ παράλια αὐτῆς κακουργήσοντα, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπάτους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπάσηται. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτυχε τοῦ σκοποῦ· καταστήσαντες γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι φρουρὰς ἑκασταχόθι τῆς παραλίας, εἰς Σικελίαν ἦλθον. οὐδὲν δὲ μνήμης ἔπραξαν ἄξιον. ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας τοὺς Γαλάτας τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ὅτι μὴ ἐντελῆ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὸν μισθὸν ἀγανακτήσαντας, φοβηθεὶς μὴ προσχωρήσωσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διέφθειρε, πέμψας αὐτοὺς εἴς τινα τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους πόλιν παραληψομένους αὐτὴν ὡς τάχα προδιδομένην καὶ διαρπάσαι αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέψας, στείλας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους ψευδαυτομόλους τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν προμηνύοντας ἔλευσιν· ὅθεν οἱ Γαλάται μὲν πάντες ἐνεδρευθέντες ἐφθάρησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέθανον.

Ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων οἴκαδε ὁ Ἀμίλκας καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθει προσπλέων καὶ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πόλεις τινὰς ὑπηγάγετο. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ναυτικὸν συνεστήσαντο, καὶ Γάιον αὐτῷ Δουίλιον τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων

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by night, and did in his own case elude observation; the rest, however, were recognised and were killed, some by the Romans, and many by the Agrigentines. For all that, the people of Agrigentum did not obtain pardon, but their wealth was plundered and they themselves were all sold.

On account of the winter the consuls retired to Messana. The Carthaginians were angry with Hanno and sent out in his stead Hamilcar, the son of Barca, a man superior in generalship to all his countrymen with the exception of Hannibal, his son. Hamilcar himself guarded Sicily and sent Hannibal as admiral to ravage the coast regions of Italy and so draw the consuls to his vicinity. Yet he did not accomplish his object, for they posted guards all along the coast, and then proceeded to Sicily. They effected nothing worthy of record, however. Now Hamilcar, becoming afraid that his Gallic mercenaries, who were offended because he had not given them full pay, might go over to the Romans, brought about their destruction. He sent them to take charge of one of the cities under Roman sway, assuring them that it was in course of being betrayed, and giving them permission to plunder it; he then sent to the consuls pretended deserters to give them advance information of the coming of the Gauls. Hence all the Gauls were ambushed and destroyed; many of the Romans also perished. B.C. 261

After the consuls had departed home, Hamilcar sailed to Italy and ravaged the land and also won over some cities in Sicily. On learning of this the Romans gathered a fleet and put one of the consuls, Gaius Duilius, in command of it, while they sent his B.C. 260

16 Ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν ἐλθόντες τῷ μὲν ἀριθμῷ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ταῖς προθυμίαις ἀντίρροποι ἦσαν, ἑκατέρωθεν [1] πρῶτόν τ' ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς καθιστάμενοι, καὶ ἐλπίζοντες καὶ τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ὑπ' αὐτῆς κριθήσεσθαι, τό τε ἆθλον τὴν Σικελίαν

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ἐπέστησαν, τὸν δὲ τούτου συνάρχοντα Κορνήλιον Γάιον εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπεμψαν. ὃς τοῦ κατὰ γῆν πολέμου ὃν ἐκεκλήρωτο ἀμελήσας ταῖς προσούσαις αὐτῷ ναυσὶν ἐς Λιπάραν ἔπλευσεν ὡς προδιδομένην αὐτῷ· τοῦτο δ' ἐκ δόλου τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐγένετο. ὡς οὖν ἐς τὴν Λιπάραν καθωρμίσατο, Βόδης αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦ Ἀννίβου περιεστοίχισεν ὑποστράτηγος. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ τοῦ Γαΐου πρὸς ἄμυναν, δείσας ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῶν, προεκαλέσατο αὐτοὺς εἰς σπονδάς· καὶ πείσας ἀνεβίβασεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τριήρη τόν τε ὕπατον καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους ὡς τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἐντευξομένους. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀπέπεμψαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς οὐδὲ ἀραμένους τὰ ὅπλα εἷλον.

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11. Εἶτα Ἀννίβας μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθει, Ἀμίλκας δὲ εἰς Ἔγεσταν ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ πεζοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦν· οἷς ἐπικουρῆσαι Γάϊον Καικίλιον χιλίαρχον ἐθελήσαντα λοχήσας πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσε τῶν αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ μαθόντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν μὲν ἀστυνόμον εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ τὸν Δουίλιον ἐπέσπευσαν· ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐλθών, καὶ καταμαθὼν τὰς

[1] ἑκατέρωθεν Bs., ὕστερον δὲ Ms.

The Romans and Carthaginians, when they joined in naval combat, were well matched in the number of ships and in their own enthusiasm. For both sides were then for the first time entering a naval engagement with equal equipment, and they hoped that it would decide the whole war. Sicily lay before their

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colleague, Gaius [Gnaeus] Cornelius, to Sicily. The latter, neglecting the war on land, which had fallen to his lot, sailed with the ships which he had to Lipara, on the understanding that it was to be betrayed to him; but this was a ruse on the part of the Carthaginians. When, therefore, he put in to Lipara, Bodes, the lieutenant of Hannibal, closed in on him. But as Gaius made preparations to defend himself, Bodes, fearing the Romans' desperation, invited them to discuss terms; and having persuaded them to do so, he took the consul and military tribunes, who supposed they were to meet the admiral, on board his own trireme. Now these men he sent to Carthage; and he captured the rest without their so much as lifting a weapon.

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11. Then Hannibal continued the ravaging of Italy, while Hamilcar made a campaign against Segesta, where the Romans had most of their infantry. Gaius Caecilius, a military tribune, was endeavouring to assist them, but Hamilcar waylaid him and slaughtered many of his followers. The people of Rome, learning of this, at once sent out the praetor urbanus and incited Duilius to haste. Duilius, on coming to Sicily, learned

ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχοντες, καὶ περὶ δουλείας[1] καὶ περὶ ἀρχῆς, τῆς μὲν μὴ πειραθῆναι νικηθέντες[2] τὴν δὲ προσκτήσασθαι κρατήσαντες, ἀγωνιζό-
17 μενοι. προέφερον δὲ οἱ μὲν τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν τριηριτῶν ἅτε ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ναυκρατοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τῇ τε ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν καὶ ταῖς τόλμαις· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἀπειρότεροι τῶν ναυτικῶν ἦσαν, τόσῳ καὶ προπετέστερον καὶ θρασύτερον ἐμάχοντο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν πείρᾳ σφίσιν ὂν ἀκριβῶς πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐκλογίζονται, καὶ ὀκνοῦσιν, ἄν γε καὶ ταύτῃ σφᾶς ἡ γνώμη φέρῃ, τὸ δὲ ἀπείρατον[3] ἀλογίστως τε θαρσοῦσι καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐξ ἀπροβουλίας ἄγονται. —M. 121 (p. 181).

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ναῦς τῶν Καρχηδονίων τῇ μὲν παχύτητι καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν σφῶν ἐλαττουμένας, τῷ τάχει δὲ τῆς εἰρεσίας καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τοῦ πλοῦ προεχούσας, μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων ἀγκύρας τε καὶ χεῖρας περικόντους σιδηρᾶς καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα κατεσκεύασεν, ὅπως ταῖς πολεμίαις ναυσὶν ἐπιρριπτοῦντες αὐτὰ συνάπτοιντο σφίσι, καὶ μεταβαίνοντες εἰς αὐτὰς εἰς χεῖρας ἴοιεν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις καὶ ὡς ἐν πεζῇ μάχῃ τούτοις συρρήγνυνται. συμμίξαντες οὖν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ταῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶ περιέπλεον σφᾶς, συντόνῳ χρώμενοι εἰρεσίᾳ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου προσέβαλλον. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα ἰσοπαλὴς ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγίνετο, εἶθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπικρατέστεροι γεγονότες

[1] δουλείας Mai, δούλων Ms. [2] νικηθέντες Mai, νική|τες Ms.
[3] ἀπείρατον Bk., ἀπειρότατον Ms.

eyes as the prize, and they were contending in a matter of servitude or dominion, resolved not to be beaten, lest they experience the former, but to conquer and obtain the latter. One side, however, surpassed in the experience possessed by the crews of its triremes, since they had long been masters of the sea; and the other was superior in the strength of its marines and in their daring, since the recklessness and audacity of their fighting were in direct ratio to their inexperience in naval affairs. For in matters of experience practically all men make exact calculations and feel some reluctance, even when their judgment approves a particular course; but in the case of the untried they are unreasonably bold, and are drawn into the conflict through lack of due consideration.

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that the ships of the Carthaginians were inferior to his own in stoutness and size, but excelled in the speed of their rowing and in the variety of their manœuvres. Therefore he fitted out his triremes with mechanical devices,—anchors, grappling-irons attached to long poles, and other such contrivances,—in order that by hurling these upon the hostile ships they might bind them fast to their own vessels, and then by crossing over into them might come to blows with the Carthaginians and engage them just as in an infantry battle. When the Carthaginians began the fight with the Roman ships, they sailed round and round them, plying the oars rapidly, and would make sudden attacks. So for a time the conflict was evenly matched; later the Romans got the upper hand and not only sent many

18 *Ὅτι ἡττηθέντων Καρχηδονίων κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀλίγου καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀπέκτειναν (πᾶσί τε γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς στρατεύματά ποι πέμπουσι πρόσεστι φύσει τῶν μὲν πλεονεξιῶν προσποιεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἐλαττώσεις ἐς τοὺς στρατηγήσαντας ἀνωθεῖν, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι προχειρότατα τοὺς πταίσαντάς τι ἐκόλαζον), εἰ μὴ φοβηθεὶς εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν ἐπερωτῶν αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ ἀκεραίων ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων, πότερον ναυμαχῆσαί οἱ κελεύουσιν ἢ μή, συνεπαινεσάντων αὐτῶν ὥσπερ που καὶ προσεδόκα,[1] ἅτε καὶ τοσοῦτον τῷ ναυτικῷ προέχειν ἐπαιρομένων, ὑπεῖπε διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων ὅτι "οὐδὲν ἄρα ἠδίκηκα ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ἐλ-*

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πολλοὺς μὲν κατέδυσαν, συνέσχον δὲ καὶ πολλούς. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ ἑπτήρους ναυμαχῶν, συσχεθείσης τῆς αὐτοῦ νηὸς τριήρει τινί, φοβηθεὶς μὴ ἁλῷ, τὴν ἑπτήρη τε ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ μεταβὰς εἰς ἑτέραν διέφυγε.

Τῆς μὲν οὖν ναυμαχίας τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο καὶ λάφυρα πολλὰ ἐλήφθη· τὸν δ' Ἀννίβαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τὴν ἧτταν ἀπέκτειναν ἄν, εἰ μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπηρώτησε σφᾶς, ὡς ἀκεραίων ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων, εἰ ναυμαχῆσαι κελεύουσιν ἢ μή. συνθεμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν ναυμαχῆσαι, ὡς τῷ ναυτικῷ προέχειν ἐπαιρομένων, ὑπεῖπεν ὅτι "οὐδὲν ἄρα ἠδίκηκα ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ἐλπίσας

[1] *προσεδόκα, ἅτε* Kuiper, *προσεδοκᾶτο* Ms.

BOOK XI

The Carthaginians because of their defeat by the Romans in the sea-fight came near putting Hannibal to death. It is a natural tendency of practically all people who send out armies on any mission to claim credit for the advantages gained, but to charge the defeats upon their leaders; and the Carthaginians were very ready to punish those who failed in any enterprise. Hanno, however, was afraid, and immediately after the defeat inquired of them, just as if the business were still untouched, whether they bade him risk a sea-fight or not. When they declared in the affirmative, as he had of course expected, because they prided themselves on having such a superior navy, he added, by the mouths of the same messengers: "I, then, have done no wrong, for I went into the engagement with the same hopes as

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of the enemy to the bottom, but also captured many. Hannibal conducted the fight from a boat of seven banks of oars, but when this became entangled with a trireme, fearing capture, he hastily left the seven-banked boat, and boarding another ship, effected his escape.

This was the outcome, then, of the naval battle, and much spoil was taken. The Carthaginians would have put Hannibal to death on account of the defeat, if he had not immediately inquired of them, just as if the business were still untouched, whether they bade him risk a sea-fight or not. When they agreed that he ought to fight, since they prided themselves upon having a superior navy, he added: "I, then, have done no wrong, for I went into the engagement

πίσας συνέβαλον·[1] τῆς γὰρ γνώμης, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς τύχης ἦν κύριος."—M. 122 (p. 182).

Zonaras 8, 11.

συνέβαλον. τῆς γὰρ γνώμης, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς τύχης ἐτύγχανον κύριος."

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσώθη, τὴν δὲ ἡγεμονίαν ἀφῃρέθη· Δουίλιος δὲ τὸν πεζὸν προσλαβὼν τούς τε Ἐγεσταίους ἐρρύσατο, μηδ' εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀμίλκου ἐλθεῖν ὑπομείναντος, καὶ τὰ φίλια τὰ ἄλλα ἐβεβαιώσατο, καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοῦ θέρους παρελθόντος ἀνεκομίσθη. ἀπάραντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀμίλκας τό τε Δρέπανον κεκλημένον (ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν ἐπίκαιρος), ἐκρατύνατο καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν τὰ πλείστου κατέθετο ἄξια, καὶ τοὺς Ἐρυκίνους ἅπαντας μετανέστησε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν κατέσκαψεν, ἵνα μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καρτερὰν αὐτὴν οὖσαν καταλαβόντες ὁρμητήριον τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσωνται, καὶ πόλεις εἷλε τὰς μὲν βίᾳ, τὰς δὲ προδοσίᾳ· καὶ εἰ μὴ Γάιος Φλῶρος αὐτὸν ἐπέσχεν ἐκεῖ χειμάσας, τὴν Σικελίαν ἂν κατεστρέψατο ἅπασαν.

Λούκιος δὲ Σκιπίων ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ ἐπὶ Κύρνον ἐστράτευσε (κεῖνται δὲ ἐν τῷ Τυρσηνικῷ πελάγει ὀλίγον ἀλλήλων ἀπέχουσαι, ὡς μίαν αὐτὰς πόρρωθεν εἶναι δοκεῖν), καὶ προτέρᾳ τῇ Κύρνῳ προσβαλὼν τὴν μὲν Οὐαλλερίαν τὴν κρατίστην αὐτῆς πόλιν βίᾳ εἷλεν, ἀπόνως δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐχειρώσατο. ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαρδὼ πλέων κατεῖδέ τι ναυτικὸν Καρχηδόνιον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐτράπετο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔφυγον πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ πόλιν

[1] συνέβαλον Gros, συνέβαλλον Ms.

you. The decision was within my power, but not the fortune of the battle."

Zonaras 8, 11.

with the same hopes as you. The decision lay within my power, but not the fortune of the battle." So he saved his life, but was deprived of his command.

Duilius, taking the infantry along with him also, rescued the people of Segesta—Hamilcar would not even venture to come to blows with him — and strengthened the loyalty of the other friendly settlements; and he returned to Rome at the close of the summer season. Upon his departure Hamilcar fortified the place called Drepanum (it is a convenient harbour), deposited there the objects of greatest value, and transferred to it all the people of Eryx. The latter city, because it was a strong position, he razed to the ground, to prevent the Romans from seizing it and making it a base of operations for the war. He captured several cities, too, some by force and some by betrayal; and if Gaius Florus, who was wintering there, had not restrained him, he would B.C. 259
have subjugated the whole of Sicily.

Lucius Scipio, his colleague, made a campaign against Sardinia and against Corsica. These islands are situated in the Tyrrhenian sea and lie so near together that from a distance they seem to be one. His first landing place was Corsica. There he captured by force Aleria, its chief city, and subdued the other places without difficulty. While sailing toward Sardinia he descried a Carthaginian fleet and directed his course toward it. The enemy fled before a battle could be joined, and he came to the city of Olbia.

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Ὀλβίαν ἦλθεν· ἔνθα τῶν Καρχηδονίων μετὰ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιφανέντων φοβηθείς, οὐ γὰρ εἶχε τὸ πεζὸν ἀξιόμαχον, ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆρεν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἁλόντων καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει δουλευόντων καὶ οἱ Σαυνῖται (συχνοὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρασκευὴν ἀφίκοντο) συνέθεντο τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο Ἕριος Ποτίλιος ὁ τῆς βοηθείας ἄρχων προσεποιήσατο συμφρονεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ἀκριβώσῃ πᾶν τὸ δεδογμένον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ οἷός τ' ἦν καταμηνῦσαι τὸ βούλευμα (πάντες γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν οἱ Σαυνῖται), ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς βουλῆς ἀγομένης εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ καταβοῆσαι αὐτοῦ ὡς περὶ τὸν σῖτον ἀδικουμένους ὅνπερ ἐλάμβανον. τῶν δὲ τοῦτο ποιησάντων μεταπεμφθεὶς ὡς αἴτιος τοῦ θορύβου ἐξέφηνεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡσυχάσαντας ἀπέπεμψαν, νυκτὸς δὲ συνέλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἐχόντων δούλους τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν· καὶ οὕτως ἡ πᾶσα διελύθη συνωμοσία.

Τῷ δ' ἐπιγενομένῳ θέρει ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ τῇ Σαρδοῖ ἅμα ἐπολέμησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' Ἀτίλιος Λατῖνος ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐλθών, καὶ Μουτίστρατον πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φλώρου πολιορκουμένην εὑρών, τῇ παρασκευῇ ἐκείνου ἐχρήσατο. καὶ προσβολὰς περὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτοῦ ποιουμένου πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι μετὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἠμύνοντο κραταιῶς, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν παίδων ἐς δάκρυα καὶ ἐς οἰμωγὰς προαχθέντων οὐκ ἀντέσχον. ὑπεξελθόντων δὲ νυκτὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ τὰς πύλας ἐθελονταὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀνεπέτασαν.

Zonaras 8, 11.

There the Carthaginians put in an appearance with their ships, and Scipio, becoming frightened, since his infantry was insufficient for battle, set sail for home.

At this time various captives serving in the city, together with the Samnites, who had come in considerable numbers to man the fleet, agreed to form a conspiracy against Rome. Herius Potilius, the leader of the auxiliary force, found it out and pretended to be of like mind with them, in order that he might fully inform himself in regard to what they had determined upon. But being unable to reveal their plans, since all the Samnites were around him, he persuaded them to gather in the Forum at a time when the senate was meeting and denounce him on the ground that they were being wronged in the matter of the grain which they were receiving. This they did; and when he was sent for as being the cause of the tumult, he revealed the plot to the senators. For the moment they merely dismissed the conspirators, after they had become quiet; but at night all of those who owned slaves arrested some of them. And in this way the entire conspiracy was overthrown.

The following summer the Romans and the Cartha- B.C. 258
ginians fought in Sicily and Sardinia at the same time. Somewhat later Atilius Latinus [Calatinus] went to Sicily, and finding the city of Mutistratus besieged by Florus, he made use of the other's troops. When he made assaults upon the circuit of the wall, the natives, with the help of the Carthaginians, defended themselves vigorously at first, but when the women and children were moved to tears and laments, they abandoned resistance. The Carthaginians passed out secretly by night and at daybreak the natives voluntarily swung the gates open.

Zonaras 8, 11.

εἰσιόντες δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντας ἐφόνευον, ἕως ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Ἀτίλιος τὴν λοιπήν τε λείαν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ λαβόντος εἶναι· ἔκτοτε γὰρ τοὺς λοιπούς τε ἐζώγρησαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν προδιαρπάσαντες κατέπρησαν.

Zonaras 8, 12.

12. Ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ Καμάριναν ἀπερισκέπτως γενόμενοι ἐς χωρία προλελοχισμένα ἐνέπεσον· καὶ πανσυδὶ ἂν ἐφθάρησαν, εἰ μὴ Μάρκος Καλπούρνιος χιλιαρχῶν σοφίᾳ μετῆλθε τὸ δυστύχημα. ἰδὼν γάρ τινα τῶν πέριξ λόφων μόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρημνώδους μὴ προκατειλημμένον, ὁπλίτας τριακοσίους παρὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου ᾐτήσατο, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ὥρμησεν, ἵν' οἱ πολέμιοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τράπωνται, κἀντεῦθεν οἱ λοιποὶ διαφύγωσι. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· ὡς γὰρ τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν εἶδον οἱ ἐναντίοι, ἐκπλαγέντες τὸν μὲν ὕπατον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὡς ἤδη ἑαλωκότας κατέλιπον, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Καλπούρνιον συνέδραμον. καὶ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς γεγονυίας πολλοὶ μὲν κἀκείνων, πάντες δ' οἱ τριακόσιοι ἔπεσον· μόνος δὲ περισέσωστο ὁ Καλπούρνιος, τρωθεὶς μέν, λαθὼν δ' ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς κείμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων ὡς τεθνηκώς, ἔνθα ζωὸς εὑρεθεὶς ἐσώθη. ἐν ᾧ δ' οἱ τριακόσιοι ἐμάχοντο, ὁ ὕπατος ἀπεχώρησε. διαφυγὼν δ' οὕτως τήν τε Καμάριναν καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς μὲν βίᾳ, τὰς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ παρεστήσατο. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Λιπάραν ὥρμησεν ὁ Ἀτίλιος. νυκτὸς δὲ λαθὼν προκατέσχεν αὐτὴν

Zonaras 8, 11.

The Romans went in and proceeded to slaughter them all, till Atilius made proclamation that the remainder of the booty and the inhabitants would belong to whoever captured them. Thereafter they spared the lives of the remaining captives, and after pillaging the city burned it to the ground.

Zonaras 8, 12.

12. Thence they proceeded heedlessly against Camarina and came into a region where an ambuscade had already been set; and they would have been utterly destroyed, had not Marcus Calpurnius, a military tribune, retrieved the disaster by his cleverness. He saw that just one of the surrounding hills had been left unoccupied, by reason of its steepness, and he asked the consul for three hundred heavy-armed men, with whom he hastened to that point. His purpose was to make the enemy turn their attention to his detachment, so that the rest of the Romans might then make their escape. And so it turned out; for when their foes witnessed the charge of these men, they were thunderstruck and leaving the consul and his force, whom they considered as good as captured, they made a united rush upon Calpurnius. A fierce battle ensued, in which many of the enemy as well as all the three hundred fell. Calpurnius alone survived. He had been wounded and lay unnoticed among the slain, being as good as dead by reason of his wounds; afterward he was found alive and his life was spared. While the three hundred were fighting, the consul got away; and after thus escaping he gained Camarina and other cities, some by force and some by capitulation. Next Atilius set out against Lipara. But Hamilcar forestalled him by

32[b] *Δίωνος ια' βιβλίῳ* "*ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὅ τε χειμὼν ἐπέμενε καὶ ὁμίχλη προσεγένετο, ἔσφηλε δι' αὐτομόλων δή τινων τὸν Ἀννίβαν.*"—Bekk. Anecd. p. 171, 26.

Zonaras 8, 12.

ὁ Ἀμίλκας, καὶ ἐπεξελθὼν αἰφνιδίως πολλοὺς διέφθειρε.

Γάιος δὲ Σουλπίκιος τῆς τε Σαρδοῦς τὰ πλεῖστα κατέδραμε καὶ ὑπερφρονήσας ἐκ τούτου ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην. καὶ ἀπῆραν μὲν καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σὺν τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ περὶ τοῖς οἴκοι δεδιότες, ἀντιπνεύσαντος δὲ πνεύματος σφίσιν ἄμφω ὑπέστρεψαν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσφηλε διά τινων ψευδαυτομόλων τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὁ Ἀτίλιος ὡς ἐς τὴν Λιβύην αὖθις πλευσούμενος. σπουδῇ τε οὖν αὐτῷ ἐξαναχθέντι ἐπιπλεύσας ὁ Σουλπίκιος τὰς μὲν πλείους τῶν νεῶν ἀγνοούσας ὑπὸ ὁμίχλης ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ γινόμενον καὶ ταραττομένας κατέδυσε, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς καταφυγούσας ἐς τὴν γῆν κενὰς εἷλεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τὸν λιμένα ὁρῶν, καταλιπὼν αὐτὰς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς πόλιν Σουλκούς· ἔνθα στασιασάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν Καρχηδονίων προῆλθέ τε ἐς αὐτοὺς μόνος καὶ ἀπώλετο. ἀδεέστερον δ' ἐκ τούτου τὴν χώραν κατατρέχοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ Ἄννωνος. ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐγένετο. καὶ συνεχῶς λίθοι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἅμα πολλοί, ὡς καὶ χαλάζῃ ἐοικέναι, ἔπεσον· καὶ ἐς τὸ Ἀλβανὸν καὶ ἄλλοθι λίθους ὁμοίως συνέβη κατενεχθῆναι.

Dio, Book XI. "When the storm continued and a mist arose besides, he compassed Hannibal's defeat by means of some pretended deserters."

Zonaras 8, 12.

occupying it stealthily during the night; and making a sudden sortie, he killed many of the Romans.

Gaius Sulpicius overran the greater part of Sardinia, and filled with arrogance as a result, set out for Africa. The Carthaginians also, alarmed for the safety of their countrymen at home, set sail with Hannibal, but when a contrary wind was encountered, both leaders turned back. Subsequently Atilius[1] compassed Hannibal's defeat by means of some false deserters who represented that Atilius was going to sail to Africa again. Hannibal put out hastily, whereupon Sulpicius sailed against him and sank the majority of his vessels, whose crews, because of a mist, did not know for a long time what was taking place and were thrown into confusion. All the ships that made their escape to land he seized, though without their crews; for Hannibal, who saw that the harbour was unsafe, abandoned the vessels and retired to the city of Sulci. There the Carthaginians mutinied against him, and when he came forth before them alone, he was slain. The Romans in consequence overran the country with greater boldness, but were defeated by Hanno. These were the events of that year. Also stones in great quantities at a time, and in appearance something like hail, fell from heaven upon Rome continually. It likewise came to pass that stones descended upon the Alban Mount and elsewhere.

[1] A mistake for Sulpicius.

19 Ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ τὸ[1] τὴν οἰκείαν μὴ προέσθαι[2] καὶ τὸ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν προσκτήσασθαι τιθέμενοι, θυμῷ καὶ ῥώμῃ ἠγωνίζοντο· τῶν γὰρ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν σφέτερα καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν περιστελλόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀλλοτρίων οὐκ ἐθελόντων μετὰ κινδύνων ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τό τε κεχειρωμένον καὶ τὸ προσδοκώμενον ποιούμενοι, πρὸς ἀμφότερα ὁμοίως ἔρρωντο. οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄμεινον εἶναι νομίσαντες μηκέτι πόρρω τὸν πόλεμον ποιεῖσθαι, μηδὲ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις προκινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ τῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀγωνίζεσθαι (πταίσαντες γὰρ οὐδενὸς στερήσεσθαι καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐν[3] ἐλπίσιν ἔσεσθαι), καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀκόλουθον τῇ διανοίᾳ σφῶν τὴν[4] παρασκευὴν ποιησάμενοι, ἐξεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα.

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Οἱ δ' ὕπατοι ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ Λιπάραν ἐστράτευσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπὸ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν Τυνδαρίδα καλουμένην ναυλοχοῦντας ᾔσθοντο τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διχῇ τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον περιβαλόντος, νομίσας ὁ Ἀμίλκας μόνους εἶναι ἐξανήχθη· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπεγένοντο, πρὸς φυγὴν ἐχώρησε καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ[5] πλεῖστον ἀπέβαλεν. ἐπαρθέντες δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Σικελίαν μὲν ὡς ἤδη σφετέραν οὖσαν κατέλιπον, τῇ δὲ Λιβύῃ τῇ τε Καρχηδόνι ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐτόλμησαν. ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ὅ τε

[1] τὸ supplied by Bk. [2] προέσθαι Gros, προσέσθαι Ms.

But holding the non-surrender of their native land and the acquirement of foreign territory to be of equal importance, they [the Carthaginians] contended with spirit and might. For, whereas most men defend their own possessions even beyond their strength, but are unwilling to struggle for those of others when it involves danger, these antagonists regarded in the same light what they possessed and what they expected, and so were equally determined upon both points. Now the Romans thought it better to conduct the war no longer at a distance [from Carthage], nor to risk a first encounter in the islands, but to have the contest in the Carthaginians' own land. Then, if they failed, they would lose nothing; and if they conquered, they would be in excellent hopes. Therefore, making their preparation commensurate with their resolve, they took the field against Carthage. B.C. 256

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The consuls on coming to Sicily made a campaign against Lipara. And discovering that the Carthaginians were lying in wait beneath the height called Tyndaris, they divided their expedition. One of the consuls with half the fleet doubled the promontory, and Hamilcar thinking them to be an isolated force, sailed out against them; but when the rest came up, he turned to flight and lost most of his fleet. The Romans were elated, and feeling that Sicily was already theirs, they left it and ventured to make an attempt on Africa and Carthage. Their leaders were Marcus B.C. 257 ... B.C. 256

[3] ἐν Bs., οὐκ ἐν Ms. [4] τὴν supplied by Val.
[5] τὸ added by Bs.

20 Ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ὅ τε Ῥήγουλος καὶ Λούκιος, ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προκριθέντες· ὁ γὰρ Ῥήγουλος ἐν τοσαύτῃ πενίᾳ ἦν ὥστε μήτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ῥᾳδίως ἐθελῆσαι δι' αὐτὴν ὑποστῆναι, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν τροφὴν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δίδοσθαι ψηφισθῆναι.—M. 123 (p. 183) (ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ—ἐξεστράτευσαν) and V. 28 (p. 593) (ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐστράτευσαν ἀκόλουθον — ψηφισθῆναι, om. ἐξεστράτευσαν).

21 Ὅτι Ἄννωνα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, ἔργῳ δὲ τριβῆς ἕνεκα ἔπεμψεν Ἀμίλκας· καὶ ὃς ἐπιβοώντων τινῶν συλλαβεῖν αὐτόν, ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι τὸν Κορνήλιον ἀπάτῃ . . .[1]—M. 124 (p. 183).

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Ῥηγοῦλος ὁ Μάρκος καὶ Λούκιος Μάλλιος, ἐξ ἀρετῆς προκριθέντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες τὰ ἐκεῖ τε καθίστων καὶ τὸν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ηὐτρέπιζον πλοῦν, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἀνέμειναν αὐτοὺς ἐπιπλεῦσαι σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ παρασκευασάμενοι πρὸς Σικελίαν ἠπείχθησαν. καὶ παρὰ τῇ Ἡρακλειώτιδι ἐς χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις ἦλθον. ἰσορρόπου δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐπὶ πολὺ γινομένης, τέλος ὑπερέσχον Ῥωμαῖοι· Ἀμίλκας δὲ ἀντιστῆναι αὐτοῖς οὐκέτι ἐτόλμα, Ἄννωνα δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν ὡς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, βουλόμενος τὸν καιρὸν τρίβειν· ἤλπιζε γὰρ στράτευμά οἱ πεμφθήσεσθαι οἴκοθεν. Ἄννων δέ, βοώντων τινῶν συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ὅτι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι ἀπάτῃ συνέλαβον τὸν Κορνήλιον, "ἂν τοῦτο ποιήσητε," εἶπεν, "οὐδὲν ἔτι κρείττους τῶν Λιβύων ἔσεσθε."

[1] Four pages are here lost from the Ms.

Their leaders were Regulus and Lucius, selected for merit. Regulus, indeed, was in so great poverty that he did not readily consent, on that account, to undertake the command; and it was voted that his wife and children should be furnished their support from the public treasury.

Hamilcar sent Hanno to the Romans, ostensibly in behalf of peace, but in reality to gain time. And he, when some clamoured for his arrest on the ground that the Carthaginians [had arrested] Cornelius treacherously . . .

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Regulus and Lucius Manlius, selected for merit. These two sailed to Sicily, settled affairs there, and made ready for the voyage to Africa. The Carthaginians, however, did not wait for them to sail thither, but after due preparation hastened toward Sicily; and thus the opposing forces met near Heraclea. The contest was for a long time evenly balanced, but in the end the Romans got the best of it. Hamilcar did not dare to withstand them longer, but sent Hanno to them, professedly in behalf of peace, whereas he really wished to use up time; for he was hoping that an army would be sent to him from home. When some clamoured for Hanno's arrest, because the Carthaginians had treacherously arrested Cornelius, the envoy said: "If you do this, you will no longer be any better than the Africans." He,

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ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν εὐκαιρότατα θωπεύσας αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὖθις τοῦ πολέμου εἴχοντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ἔπλεον, Ἀμίλκας δὲ καὶ Ἄννων διαιρεθέντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς περισχεῖν ἐμελέτων. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἄννων οὐχ ὑπέστη προσιόντας αὐτούς, προκαταπλεύσας δ' εἰς Καρχηδόνα ταύτην ἐφύλασσεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας πυθόμενος τοῦτο κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν. ἐκβάντες δ' εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρησαν. οὓς ἰδόντες προσιόντας οἱ ἐπιχώριοι προϋπεξῆλθον· καὶ ἀμαχεὶ κατασχόντες αὐτὴν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ πολέμου ὁρμητήριον ἐποιήσαντο, κἀντεῦθεν τήν τε γῆν ἐπόρθουν καὶ πόλεις τὰς μὲν ἐθελουσίας, τὰς δὲ φόβῳ προσεπεκτῶντο, λείαν τε πολλὴν ἐλάμβανον καὶ αὐτομόλους πλείστους ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τῶν οἰκείων συχνοὺς τῶν ἐν τοῖς πρὶν πολέμοις ἁλόντων ἐκομίζοντο.

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13. Χειμῶνος δὲ ἐπιγενομένου Μάλλιος μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην σὺν τῇ λείᾳ ἀπέπλευσε, Ῥηγοῦλος δ' ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ὑπέμεινε. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐν παντὶ κακῷ γεγόνασι, τῆς χώρας τε πορθουμένης αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀλλοτριουμένων, καὶ κατειληθέντες εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἡσύχαζον. Ῥηγούλῳ δὲ παρὰ τὸν Βαγράδαν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδευομένῳ δράκων

Ioannes Damascenus, De Draconibus I., p. 472.

Ὁ δὲ Δίων ὁ Ῥωμαῖος . . . . λέγει, ὅτι Ῥηγούλου τοῦ ὑπάτου Ῥώμης πολεμοῦντος τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐξαίφνης δράκων ἑρπύσας ἔξω τοῦ χαρακώματος τοῦ Ῥωμαίου στρατοῦ ἔκειτο,

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therefore, by flattering them most opportunely escaped all molestation; but the Romans once more resumed the war. And the consuls sailed from Messana, while Hamilcar and Hanno separated and studied how to enclose them on both sides. Yet Hanno would not await them when they approached, but sailed away promptly to Carthage and kept guard over the city. Hamilcar, however, when apprised of this, stayed where he was. The Romans landed and marched against the city of Aspis [Clupea], whose inhabitants, seeing them approaching, slipped away in good season. The Romans thus occupied it without striking a blow, and made it a base for the war. Setting out from it, they ravaged the country and acquired cities, some of their own free will and others by intimidation; they also secured great booty, received vast numbers of deserters, and got back many of their own men who had been captured in the previous wars.

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13. When winter came on, Manlius sailed back to Rome with the booty, while Regulus remained behind in Africa. The Carthaginians found themselves in the depths of woe, since their country was being pillaged and their neighbours alienated; and cooped up in their fortifications, they remained inactive. Now while Regulus was encamped beside the Bagradas river, there appeared a serpent of huge bulk,

Ioannes Damascenus, De Draconibus I., p. 472.

Dio the Roman . . . says that when Regulus, the Roman consul, was warring against Carthage, a serpent suddenly crept out of the palisade of the Roman army and lay there. By his command the Romans

22 Ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι φοβηθέντες μὴ ἁλῶσι, προεκηρυκεύσαντο πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον, ὅπως ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐπιεικεῖ ἀποπέμψαντες αὐτὸν τὸ παραχρῆμα δεινὸν ὑπεκφύγωσιν. ἐπειδή τε οὐκ ἠθέ-

Zonaras 8, 13.

ἐπεφάνη ὑπερμεγέθης, οὗ τὸ μῆκος λέγεται εἶναι ποδῶν ἑκατὸν πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι· καὶ γὰρ ἡ λεβηρὶς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κεκόμιστο δι' ἐπίδειξιν· ἀνάλογον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον εἶχεν ὄγκον τοῦ σώματος. ὃς συχνοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μὲν πελάζοντας αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πίνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέφθειρε. κατειργάσατο δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ῥηγοῦλος πλήθει στρατιωτῶν καὶ μηχαναῖς λιθοβόλοις. καὶ τὸν μὲν οὕτως ἔφθειρεν, τῷ δὲ Ἀμίλκᾳ ἐπὶ μετεώρου καὶ ὑλώδους στρατοπεδευομένῳ χωρίου νύκτωρ προσέμιξε, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς, πολλοὺς δ' ἐξεγερθέντας διώλεσεν· εἰ δέ τινες καὶ διέφυγον, τοῖς τὰς ὁδοὺς τηροῦσιν ἐμπίπτοντες ὤλλυντο. καὶ οὕτω τῶν τε Καρχηδονίων μέρος ἀναλώθη πολὺ καὶ πόλεις αὐτῶν συχναὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μεθίσταντο. φοβηθέντες δ' οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει μὴ ἁλῶσι, διεκηρυκεύσαντο πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον, ὅπως ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐπιεικεῖ ἀποπέμψαντες αὐτὸν τὸ παραυτίκα δεινὸν ὑπεκφύγωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ ἀπῃτοῦντο

Ioannes Damascenus, De Draconibus I., p. 472.

ὃν τῇ προστάξει αὐτοῦ ἔκτειναν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἀποδείραντες αὐτὸν ἔστειλε τὴν δορὰν αὐτοῦ τῇ συγκλήτῳ Ῥώμης, μέγα θαῦμα· καὶ παρὰ τῆς αὐτῆς μετρηθεῖσα συγκλήτου, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Δίων ἔλεγε, εὑρέθη ἔχουσα μῆκος ποδῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι. πρὸς τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ ἦν καὶ τὸ πάχος.

BOOK XI

The Carthaginians, fearing capture, first made overtures to the consul, in the hope that they might by some satisfactory arrangement secure his withdrawal and thus escape the danger of the moment. But

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the length of which is said to have been one hundred and twenty feet (for its slough was carried to Rome for exhibition), and the rest of its body corresponded in size. It destroyed many of the soldiers who approached it and some also who were drinking from the river. Regulus overcame it with a crowd of soldiers and with catapults. After thus destroying it, he gave battle by night to Hamilcar, who was encamped upon a high, wooded spot; and he slew many in their beds as well as many who had been aroused. Any who escaped fell in with the Romans guarding the roads and perished. In this way a large part of the Carthaginians was destroyed and many of their cities were going over to the Romans. Those in the city, fearing capture, made overtures to the consul, in the hope that they might by some satisfactory arrangement secure his withdrawal and so escape the immediate danger. But when many oppressive demands were made of

Ioannes Damascenus, De Draconibus I., p. 472.

slew the reptile, and having flayed it, sent its skin, a great wonder, to the senate at Rome. And when measured by this same senate, as Dio himself goes on to report, it was found to have a length of one hundred and twenty feet; its thickness, moreover, was proportionate to its length.

λησαν Σικελίας τε πάσης καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους προῖκα ἀφεῖναι τοὺς δὲ σφετέρους λύσασθαι, τά τε δαπανηθέντα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸν πόλεμον πάντα διαλῦσαι καὶ χωρὶς ἄλλα καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος συν-
23 τελεῖν οὐδὲν ἤνυσαν. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ ἐκεῖνα αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει, ὅτι μήτε πολεμεῖν[1] μήτε συμβαίνειν ἄνευ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν μὴ πλείοσι μιᾶς ναυσὶ μακραῖς χρῆσθαι, ἐκείνοις δὲ πεντήκοντα τριήρεσιν ἐπικουρεῖν ὁσάκις ἂν ἐπαγγελθῇ σφισιν, ἄλλα τέ τινα οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ποιεῖν ἐκελεύοντο. ἐξ οὖν τούτων ἅλωσίν σφων ἀκριβῆ τὰς σπονδὰς νομίσαντες ἔσεσθαι, πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον εἵλοντο.—U[G] 4 (p. 376).

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καὶ φορτικά, ὡς ἅλωσιν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ νομίζεσθαι τὰς σπονδάς, πολεμεῖν μᾶλλον εἵλοντο.

Ὁ μέντοι Ῥηγοῦλος μέχρι τότε εὐτυχῶν αὐχήματος μεστὸς ἐγένετο καὶ φρονήματος, ὥστε καὶ γράφειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὅτι κατεσφραγισμένας ἔχει τὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων πύλας ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου· τὰ ἴσα δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφρόνουν. ὅθεν καὶ ἐσφάλησαν. ἦλθον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις καὶ ἕτεροι σύμμαχοι, ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος Ξάνθιππος. οὗτος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀρχὴν εἰληφὼς (ὅ τε γὰρ δῆμος αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα προθύμως ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ὁ Ἀμίλκας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐν τέλει

[1] πολεμεῖν Reim., πολεμεῖν τέ (τὸ A) Mss.

since they refused to retire from all Sicily and from Sardinia, to release the Roman captives free of cost and to ransom their own, to make good all the expenses incurred by the Romans for the war and also to pay more as tribute each year, they accomplished nothing. Indeed, in addition to those just mentioned, there were the following demands which displeased them: they were to make neither war nor peace without the consent of the Romans, were to keep for their own use not more than one warship, yet come to the aid of the Romans with fifty triremes as often as notice should be sent them, and were not to be on an equal footing in some other respects. In view, then, of these demands, they decided that the truce would mean their utter subjugation, and they chose rather to fight with the Romans.

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them, they decided that the truce would mean their utter subjugation, and they chose rather to fight.

Regulus, however, who up to that time had been fortunate, became filled with boastfulness and conceit, so much so that he even wrote to Rome that he had sealed up the gates of Carthage with fear. His followers and the people of Rome were of the same opinion, and this caused their undoing. For various allies came to the Carthaginians, among them Xanthippus from Sparta. This man assumed absolute authority over the Carthaginians, since the populace was eager to entrust matters to his charge and Hamilcar together with the other officials stepped aside voluntarily. He managed their affairs B.C. 255

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ἑκουσίως ἐξέστησαν) τά τε ἄλλα παρεσκεύασεν εὖ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ἐν οἷς ὑπὸ δέους ἦσαν, κατήγαγεν εἰς τὸ ὁμαλόν, ἐν ᾧ ἥ τε ἱππεία αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες πλεῖστον ἰσχύσειν ἔμελλον. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἡσύχαζε, τηρήσας δέ ποτε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καταφρονητικῶς αὐλιζομένους (μέγα τε γὰρ τῇ νίκῃ φρονοῦντες καὶ τὸν Ξάνθιππον ὡς Γραικὸν ὑπερορῶντες—οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ εἰς ὄνειδος δυσγενείας τῷ προσρήματι κατ' αὐτῶν χρῶνται—τὰς στρατοπεδείας ἀπερισκέπτως πεποίηντο), οὕτως οὖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διακειμένοις ὁ Ξάνθιππος ἐπελθών, καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν αὐτῶν διὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τρεψάμενος, πολλοὺς μὲν κατέκοψε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐζώγρησε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ῥηγοῦλον. καὶ ἐν φρονήματι διὰ ταῦτα ἦσαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι· τοὺς δὲ ἁλόντας περιέσωσαν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρότερον ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλωτισθέντες κτανθῶσι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους τῶν ἑαλωκότων Ῥωμαίων ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον, τὸν δὲ Ῥηγοῦλον ἐν πάσῃ κακουχίᾳ πεποίηντο, τροφήν τε αὐτῷ ὅσον ἀποζῆν προσῆγον, καὶ ἐλέφαντα προσέφερον συνεχῶς, ὅπως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δειματούμενος μήτε τῷ σώματι μήτε τῇ διανοίᾳ ἡσυχάζοι. ἐπὶ συχνὸν δὲ κακώσαντες οὕτως αὐτὸν εἰς δεσμωτήριον ἔθεντο.

Τοὺς δὲ σφετέρους συμμάχους οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δεινότατα μετεχειρίσαντο. οὐ γὰρ εὐποροῦντες ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἃ προϋπέσχοντο, ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀποδώσοντες. ἐκέλευσαν δὲ τοῖς κομίζουσι σφᾶς

BOOK XI

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excellently in every way, and in particular he brought the Carthaginians down from the heights, where they were staying through fear, into the level country, where their horses and elephants would be of most avail. For some time he remained inactive, until at length he found the Romans encamped in a manner that betokened their contempt. They were very haughty over their success and looked down upon Xanthippus as a *Graecus*[1] (for thus they call the Hellenes, and they use the epithet as a reproach to them for their mean birth); and consequently they had constructed their camp in a heedless fashion. While the Romans were in this state of mind Xanthippus assailed them, routed their cavalry with his elephants, cut down many, and captured many alive, among them Regulus himself. This put the Carthaginians in high spirits. They saved the lives of those captured, in order that their own citizens previously taken captive by the Romans might not be killed. Thus they treated all the Roman prisoners with consideration except Regulus, whom they kept in a state of utter misery; they offered him just enough food to keep him alive, and they would repeatedly lead an elephant close up to him to frighten him, so that he might have peace in neither body nor mind. After afflicting him in this way for a good while, they placed him in prison.

With their allies the Carthaginians dealt in a most ruthless manner. Not being supplied with sufficient wealth to pay them what they had originally promised, they dismissed them with the understanding that they would pay them their wages before very long. To the men who escorted the allies, however, they issued orders to put them

[1] The word should be the diminutive *Graeculus*.

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εἰς ἐρήμην τινὰ νῆσον ἐκβιβάσαι καὶ λάθρᾳ ἀποπλεῦσαι. καὶ τὸν Ξάνθιππον δὲ οἱ μέν φασι καταποντίσαι αὐτοὺς ἀποπλεύσαντι ἐπιπλεύσαντας, οἱ δὲ ναῦν αὐτῷ δοῦναι παλαιὰν μηδὲν στέγουσαν, νέον καταπιττώσαντας ἔξωθεν, ἵν' αὐτὴ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς καταποντισθῇ· τὸν δὲ γνόντα τοῦτο ἐς ἑτέραν ἐμβῆναι καὶ οὕτω διασωθῆναι. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίουν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν πρὸς ἐκείνου σεσῶσθαι· ἐνόμισαν γὰρ ἀπολωλότος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἔργων δόξαν συναπολέσθαι.

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14. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἤλγουν μὲν διὰ τὸ συμβάν, καὶ πλέον ὅτι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὴν προσεδόκων πλευσεῖσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα τήν τε Ἰταλίαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῇ τε Λιβύῃ ὄντας Ῥωμαίους σπουδῇ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔπεμψαν, Μάρκον Αἰμίλιον καὶ Φούλβιον Πλαίτινον. οἳ ἐς Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες καὶ φρουρήσαντες τὰ ἐκεῖ πρὸς Λιβύην ὡρμήκεσαν· καὶ χειμῶνι ληφθέντες κατηνέχθησαν ἐς Κόρσουσαν· πορθήσαντες δὲ τὴν νῆσον καὶ φρουρᾷ παραδόντες ἔπλεον αὖθις. κἀν τούτῳ ἰσχυρὰ ναυμαχία πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἐγένετο. ἠγωνίζοντο γὰρ οἱ μὲν παντελῶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκβαλεῖν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας σφῶν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἀνασώσασθαι. ἀγχωμάλως δὲ μαχομένων οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσπίδι ὄντες Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐξαίφνης ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ ἀμφιβόλους αὐτοὺς καταλαβόντες ἐνίκησαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ πεζῷ οἱ

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ashore on a desert island and quietly sail away. As regards Xanthippus, one story is that they pursued after him, when he had sailed away, and sank his ship; the other is that they gave him an old ship which was in no wise seaworthy but had been newly covered over with pitch outside, that it might sink quite of itself, and that he, being aware of this, went aboard a different ship, and so was saved. Their reason for doing this was to avoid seeming to have been saved by his ability; for they thought that when once he had perished, the renown of his deeds would also perish.

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14. The people of Rome were grieved at what had occurred, more especially because they expected that the Carthaginians would sail against Rome itself. For this reason they carefully guarded Italy, and hastily sent to the Romans in Sicily and Africa the consuls Marcus Aemilius and Fulvius Plaetinus [Paetinus]. These men sailed to Sicily, and after garrisoning the positions there, set out for Africa, but were overtaken by a storm and carried to Cossura. They ravaged the island and put it in charge of a garrison, then sailed onward again. Thereupon a fierce naval battle with the Carthaginians took place. The latter were struggling to eject the Romans entirely from their country, and the Romans were striving to save the remnants of their soldiers who had been left in hostile territory. In the midst of a close battle the Romans in Aspis [Clupea] suddenly sailed against the Carthaginians from the rear, and by thus getting them between two forces overcame them. Later the Romans also

29ᵃ Δίων ια' βιβλίῳ "οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν ἀναπλεούσας οἴκαδε τηρήσαντες, συχνὰς χρημάτων γεμούσας εἷλον."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 131, 12.

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Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ εἷλον πολλούς· οὓς διὰ τὸν Ῥηγοῦλον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἁλόντας περιεσώσαντο. ἁρπαγάς δέ τινας ποιησάμενοι ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλεον. χειμῶνι δὲ περιπεσόντες καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες οἴκοι ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς περισωθείσαις ἀπέπλευσαν.

Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ τὴν Κόρσουραν ἔλαβον καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπεραιώθησαν· καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸν Κολλατῖνον καὶ Γναῖον Κορνήλιον ἔμαθον πολλῷ προσπλέοντας ναυτικῷ, πᾶσαν ἂν αὐτὴν ἐχειρώσαντο. οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ναυτικόν τε ἄριστον ταχέως ἐξήρτυσαν καὶ καταλόγους βελτίστους ἐπεποιήκεσαν, καὶ οὕτως ἐρρώσθησαν ὥστε τρίτῳ μηνὶ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐπανελθεῖν. πεντακοσιοστὸν δ' ἦν ἔτος ἀφ' οὗπερ ἡ Ῥώμη συνέστη. καὶ τὴν μὲν κάτω τοῦ Πανόρμου πόλιν οὐ χαλεπῶς εἷλον, τῇ δὲ ἄκρᾳ προσεδρεύοντες ἐκακοπάθησαν, μέχρις οὗ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπέλιπεν ἡ τροφή· τότε γὰρ προσεχώρησαν τοῖς ὑπάτοις. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν οἴκαδε πλεούσας τηρήσαντες εἷλον συχνὰς χρημάτων μεστάς.

Εἶτα Σερουίλιός τε Πίων καὶ Γάιος Σεμπρώνιος ὕπατοι τοῦ μὲν Λιλυβαίου πειράσαντες ἀπεκρούσθησαν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Λιβύην ἐπεραιώθησαν, καὶ τὴν παραλίαν ἐπόρθουν. ὡς δ' ἐκομίζοντο οἴκαδε, χειμῶνι ἐνέτυχον καὶ ἐβλάβησαν. διὸ νομίσας ὁ δῆμος ἐξ ἀπειρίας τῶν ναυτικῶν βλάπτεσθαι, τῆς

BOOK XI

Dio, Book XI. "The Carthaginians kept watch for their ships homeward bound and captured several heavily laden with money."

Zonaras 8, 14.

won an infantry engagement and took many prisoners, whose lives they saved because of Regulus and those captured with him. They made several raids, and then sailed to Sicily. But encountering a storm and losing many of their number, they sailed for home with the ships that were saved.

The Carthaginians took Cossura and crossed over B.C. 254
to Sicily; and they would have subjugated the whole of it, had they not learned that Collatinus [Calatinus] and Gnaeus Cornelius were approaching with a large fleet. For the Romans had quickly fitted out a first-class fleet, had made levies of their best men, and had become so strong that in the third month they returned to Sicily. It was the five-hundredth year from the founding of Rome. The lower city of Panormus they took without trouble, but in the siege of the citadel they fared badly until food failed those inside: then the besieged came to terms with the consuls. But the Carthaginians kept watch for their ships homeward bound, and captured several that were full of money.

Afterwards Servilius Pio [Caepio] and Gaius Sem- B.C. 253
pronius, consuls, made an attempt upon Lilybaeum, where they were repulsed; and crossing over to Africa, they ravaged the coast. But while returning homeward they encountered a storm and incurred disaster. Hence the people, thinking that their misfortunes were due to their inexperience in naval

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μὲν ἄλλης θαλάσσης ἀπέχεσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο, ναυσὶ δ' ὀλίγαις τὴν Ἰταλίαν φρουρεῖν.

Τῷ δ' ἐπιγενομένῳ ἔτει Πούπλιος Γάιος καὶ Αὐρήλιος Σερουίλιος ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἦλθον, καὶ ἄλλα τέ τινα κατεστρέψαντο καὶ Ἱμέραν· οὐ μέντοι τινὰ συνέσχον τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ· νυκτὸς γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐξεκόμισαν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Αὐρήλιος ναῦς τε παρὰ Ἱέρωνος εἰληφὼς καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν ἐκεῖ συμπαραλαβών, ἔπλευσεν εἰς Λιπάραν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Κύιντον Κάσσιον χιλίαρχον[1] καταλιπὼν προσεδρεύσοντα μάχης ἄνευ, ἀπῆρεν οἴκαδε. Κύιντος δὲ μὴ φροντίσας τῆς ἐντολῆς προσέμιξε τῇ πόλει καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλεν. ὁ μέντοι Αὐρήλιος μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκείνους ἑλὼν πάντας ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔπαυσε.

Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις περὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ μαθόντες, ἔπεμψαν εἰς Σικελίαν, πᾶσαν ὑποτάξαι τότε ἐλπίσαντες. καὶ ἕως μὲν ἄμφω παρῆσαν οἱ ὕπατοι Καικίλιος Μέτελλος καὶ Γάιος Φούριος,[2] ἠρέμουν· ὡς δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπῆρεν ὁ Φούριος,[2] κατεφρόνησαν τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ πρὸς τὸ Πάνορμον ἦλθον. ὁ δὲ Μέτελλος κατασκόπους ἐλθεῖν μαθὼν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ἤθροισε τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντας, καὶ διαλεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἀλλήλων λαβέσθαι σφίσιν ἐκέλευσε· καὶ οὕτως ἕκαστον ἀνακρίνων ὅστις τε εἴη καὶ ὅ τι πράττοι, κατεφώρασε τοὺς πολεμίους. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ παρετάξαντο ὡς

[1] Κύιντον χιλίαρχον Κάσσιον Mss., corrected by Bs.
[2] Φούριος Wolf, φρούριος Mss.

Zonaras 8, 14.

affairs, voted to keep away from the sea with the exception of guarding Italy with a few ships.

In the succeeding year Publius Gaius[1] and Aurelius Servilius[1] came to Sicily and among other places subdued Himera; but they did not get possession of any of its inhabitants, for the Carthaginians conveyed them away by night. After this Aurelius secured some ships from Hiero, and adding to his contingent all the Romans who were there, he sailed to Lipara. Here he left the tribune Quintus Cassius to carry on a siege, while avoiding battle, and set sail for home. Quintus, disregarding orders, made an attack upon the city and lost many men. Aurelius, however, subsequently took the place, killed all the inhabitants, and deposed Cassius from his command. B.C. 252

The Carthaginians, learning what the Romans had determined regarding the fleet, sent an expedition to Sicily, hoping now to bring it entirely under their control. Now as long as both the consuls, Caecilius Metellus and Gaius Furius, were on the ground, they remained quiet; but when Furius set out for Rome, they conceived a contempt for Metellus and proceeded to Panormus. Metellus learned that spies had come from the enemy, and assembling all the people of the city, he addressed them, and then bade them lay hold of one another; thus he was enabled to investigate who each one was and what his business was, and so detected the enemies.[2] The Carthaginians now set themselves in B.C. 251

[1] A mistake for Gaius Aurelius and Publius Servilius; the names are correctly given at the beginning of chapter 16.

[2] The same procedure is attributed to Mummius after the destruction of Corinth; see Zonaras 9, 31 (end).

Zonaras 8, 14.

μαχούμενοι, καὶ Μέτελλος δεδιέναι προσεποιεῖτο. τούτου δ' ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας γινομένου, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐφρονηματίσθησαν καὶ προσέβαλλον θρασύτερον. καὶ τότε ὁ Μέτελλος σημεῖον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦρε· κἀκ τούτου ἐξαπιναίως ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ πάσας τὰς πύλας ἐπεκδραμόντες ῥᾳδίως ἐκράτησαν, καὶ ἐς στενὸν αὐτοὺς κατέκλεισαν, ὥστε μηκέτ' ἀναχωρῆσαι δι' αὐτοῦ δυνηθῆναι. στενοχωρούμενοι γάρ, ἅτε καὶ αὐτοὶ πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ πολλοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἔχοντες, ἐταράττοντο. κἂν τούτῳ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Λιβυκὸν προσπλεῦσαν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο φθορᾶς αἰτιώτατον. ἰδόντες γὰρ τὰς ναῦς ὥρμησαν εἰς αὐτὰς καὶ ἐμβαίνειν ἐξεβιάζοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐνέπιπτον καὶ ἐφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐμπελαζομένων ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκτείνοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἑάλωσαν ἄνδρες τε καὶ ἐλέφαντες. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἄνευ τῶν συνήθων σφίσιν ἀνδρῶν ὄντες ἠγριαίνοντο, κήρυγμα τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ὁ Μέτελλος ἐποιήσατο σωτηρίαν καὶ ἄδειαν τοῖς συλλαβοῦσιν αὐτοὺς διδοῦν· καὶ οὕτως προσελθόντες τινὲς τοῖς σφῶν πρᾳοτάτοις ἐκείνους τε διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ἐχειρώσαντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσεπεσπάσαντο. οὓς καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκόμισαν ἑκατὸν ὄντας καὶ εἴκοσιν, οὕτως αὐτοὺς τὸν πορθμὸν περαιώσαντες. πίθους πολλοὺς συνδήσαντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ξύλοις διαλαβόντες σφᾶς, ὥστε μήτ' ἀπαρτᾶσθαι σφᾶς μήτε συμπίπτειν,

battle array, and Metellus pretended to be afraid. When he continued this pretence for several days, the Carthaginians were filled with presumption, and became quite bold in making attacks. Then Metellus raised the signal for the Romans. Forthwith they made an unexpected rush through all the gates, easily overcame resistance, and enclosed their foes in a narrow place through which they could now no longer retreat; for, by reason of their own numbers and the large number of elephants with them, they were crowded together and thrown into confusion. Meanwhile the Carthaginian fleet approached the coast and became the chief cause of their destruction. For the fugitives, seeing the ships, rushed toward them and tried to force their way on board; some fell into the sea and perished, others were killed by the elephants, which crowded against one another and against the men, and still others were slain by the Romans; many also were captured alive, men and elephants as well. For when the beasts, bereft of the men to whom they were used, became infuriated, Metellus made a proclamation to the prisoners, offering safety and pardon to such as would hold them in check; accordingly, some of the keepers approached the gentlest of the animals, which they subdued by the influence of their accustomed presence, and then won over the remainder. These, one hundred and twenty in number, were conveyed to Rome, being ferried across the strait in the following way. A number of huge jars, separated by wooden stays, were fastened together in such a way that they could neither break apart nor yet strike together; then this framework was spanned by

29[b] *Δίωνος ια' βιβλίῳ "τὸν δῆμον ἐδείπνισεν."* Bekk. Anecd. p. 133, 24.

26 *Ὅτι φασὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διά τε τἆλλα καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, μάλιστα μὲν εἴ πως καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ ποιήσαιντο, εἰ δὲ μή, ἵνα τούς γε ἑαλωκότας κομίσαιντο. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ῥήγουλον ἐν τοῖς πρέσβεσι πεμφθῆναι διά τε τὸ ἀξίωμα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν· ὑπέλαβον γὰρ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τῷ κομίσασθαι αὐτὸν πρᾶξαι,[1] ὥστε καὶ μόνον ἀντὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἢ πάν-*

Zonaras 8, 14.

δοκοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐπέτειναν καὶ ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν, φράξαντές τε πέριξ τὸ χωρίον, ὡς αὐλῇ τινι ἐοικέναι, εἰς τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἐπεβίβασαν, καὶ διεπόρθμευσαν οὐδ' αἰσθανομένους ὅτι πλέοιεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μέτελλος οὕτως ἐνίκησεν, ὁ δ' Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς σωθεὶς τότε, ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι Καρχηδονίων ἐκλήθη καὶ ἀνεσκολοπίσθη.

Zonaras 8, 15.

15. *Οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ διεκηρυκεύσαντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διά τε τἆλλα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ῥηγοῦλον συνέπεμψαν, πᾶν δι' αὐτοῦ οἰηθέντες κατωρθωκέναι διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὥρκωσάν τε αὐτὸν ἦ μὴν ἐπανήξειν. καὶ*

[1] *πρᾶξαι* Rk., *ἐλπίσαι σφᾶς πρᾶξαι* Mss.

Dio, Book XI. "He feasted the people."[1]

They say that the Carthaginians made overtures to the Romans on account of the great number of the captives, among other causes; they wished most of all to see if they could make peace on some moderate terms, and if they could not do this, at least to get back the captives. It is said that Regulus, too, was sent among the envoys because of his reputation and valour. They assumed that the Romans would do anything whatever for the sake of getting him back, so that he might even be delivered up alone in return for peace, or at any rate

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Zonaras 8, 14.

beams, and on top of all earth and brush were placed, and the surface was fenced in round about, so that it presented somewhat the appearance of a farmyard. The beasts were put on board this raft and were ferried across without knowing that they were moving on the water. Such was the victory of Metellus; but Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian leader, though he got safely away on this occasion, was later summoned by the Carthaginians at home and impaled.

Zonaras 8, 15.

15. The Carthaginians now made overtures to the Romans, on account of the great number of the captives, among other causes; and with the envoys they sent also Regulus himself, thinking that through him their whole object was as good as gained, because of the reputation and valour of the man; and they

[1] Boissevain refers this to the triumph of Metellus.

τως γε ἀντὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀνταποδοθῆναι. 27 ὥρκωσάν τε οὖν αὐτὸν πίστεσι[1] μεγάλαις ἦ μὴν ἐπανήξειν, ἂν[2] μηδέτερον αὐτῶν[3] διαπράξηται, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν μεθ' ἑτέρων ἔστειλαν. καὶ ὃς τά τε ἄλλα καθάπερ τις Καρχηδόνιος ἀλλ' οὐ Ῥωμαῖος ὢν ἔπραττε, καὶ οὔτε τὴν γυναῖκα ἐς λόγους ἐδέξατο, οὔτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν καίπερ ἐσκληθεὶς[4] ἐσῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἔξω τοῦ τείχους τῆς βουλῆς ἀθροισθείσης, ὥσπερ τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων πρέσβεσιν ἔθος εἶχον χρηματίζειν, τήν τε πρόσοδον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥς γε καὶ ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ᾐτήσατο, . . . U^{a} 5 (p. 377).

30 Δίων ια' βιβλίῳ "οὐ πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐπείσθη ὁ Ῥήγουλος πρὶν Καρχηδονίους οἱ ἐπιτρέψαι."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 140, 20.

Zonaras 8, 15.

ὃς τά τε ἄλλα ὡς εἷς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἔπραττε καὶ οὔτε τὴν γυναῖκα εἰς λόγους ἐδέξατο οὔτε τὴν πόλιν εἰσῆλθε, καὶ ταῦτα καλούμενος, ἀλλ' ἔξω τοῦ τείχους τῆς βουλῆς ἀθροισθείσης, ὡς ἔθος ἦν χρηματίζειν τῶν πολεμίων τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, εἰσαχθεὶς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον εἶπεν "ἡμᾶς, ὦ πατέρες, πρὸς ὑμᾶς Καρχηδόνιοι ἔπεμψαν· ἐκεῖνοι γάρ με ἐστάλκασι, ἐπεὶ δοῦλος αὐτῶν νόμῳ πολέμου γεγένημαι· καὶ ἀξιοῦσι μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον λύσασθαι ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ταῖς

[1] πίστεσι Reim., πίστεσί τε (τε καὶ B) Mss. [2] ἂν Bk., ἂν δὲ Mss. [3] μηδέτερον αὐτῶν Urs., μηδὲν ἕτερον αὐτὸν Mss. [4] ἐσκληθεὶς Bs., ἐκβληθεὶς Mss.

in exchange for the captives. Accordingly, they bound him by mighty oaths and pledges to return without fail, in case he should accomplish neither of their objects; and they despatched him as an envoy along with others. Now he acted in all respects like a Carthaginian, and not a Roman. He did not even grant his wife leave to confer with him, nor did he enter the city, although invited inside; instead, when the senate assembled outside the walls, as was their custom in treating with the enemy's envoys, he not only asked permission to approach with the others—at least so the story goes— . . . .

Dio, Book XI. "Regulus paid no heed to them until the Carthaginians permitted him to do so."

Zonaras 8, 15.

bound him by oaths to return without fail. Now he acted in all respects like one of the Carthaginians. He did not even grant his wife leave to confer with him, nor did he enter the city, although repeatedly invited to do so; instead, when the senate assembled outside the walls, as was the custom in treating with the envoys of the enemy, and he was brought into the assembly he said: "We, Fathers, have been sent to you by the Carthaginians. It is they who despatched me on this journey, since by the law of war I have become their slave. Now they ask, in the first place, to conclude the war upon terms pleasing to

32ᵃ Δίωνος ια' βιβλίῳ "ἄλλος ἄν τις,[1] παραμυθήσασθαι τὴν καθ' ἑαυτὸν συμφορὰν ἐθελήσας, ἐξῆρεν ἂν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων."—Bekk. Anecd. 165, 30.

32ᵈ Δίωνος ιβ' βιβλίῳ "ἐκεῖνο[2] μὲν γὰρ ἀπαλλοτριωθῆναι ὑμῶν τρόπον τινὰ ἠδυνήθη."[3]—*Ib.* p. 124, 4.

32ᵉ Δίωνος ιβ' βιβλίῳ "τεθνᾶσι δὲ οἱ μέν, οἱ δὲ ἑαλώκασιν οἵ γε καὶ λόγου τινὸς ἄξιοι."—*Ib.* p. 133, 25.

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δοκούσαις ἀμφοῖν, εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ποιήσασθαι ἄλλαγμα." ταῦτα εἰπὼν μετέστη μετὰ τῶν πρέσβεων, ὡς ἂν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βουλεύσωνται. κελευόντων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπάτων συμμετασχεῖν σφίσι τῆς διαγνώμης οὐ πρὶν ἐπείσθη πρὸ τοῦ παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιτραπῆναι. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἐσιώπα· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ βουλευταὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν γνώμην ἐκέλευον, εἶπεν "εἰμὶ[4] μὲν εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὦ πατέρες, κἂν μυριάκις ἁλῶ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμά μου Καρχηδονίων, ἡ δὲ ψυχή μου ὑμετέρα ἐστίν· ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἠλλοτρίωται, ταύτην δὲ οὐδεὶς δύναται μὴ οὐχὶ Ῥωμαίαν εἶναι ποιῆσαι· καὶ ὡς μὲν αἰχμάλωτος Καρχηδονίοις προσήκω, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐκ κακίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ προθυμίας ἐδυστύχησα, καὶ Ῥωμαῖός εἰμι καὶ φρονῶ τὰ ὑμέτερα. καὶ οὐδ' ἐξ ἑνὸς τρόπου λυσιτελεῖν ὑμῖν τὰς καταλλαγὰς νομίζω."

[1] ἄλλος ἄν τις Bk., ἄλλο γ' ἄν τι Ms.
[2] ἐκεῖνο de Boer, ἐκεῖνος Ms. [3] ἠδυνήθη Bk., ἠδυνθῆναι Ms.
[4] At this point Boissevain would begin Book XII. It seems highly improbable, however, that the division should occur in the middle of an episode like the present one. The

Dio, Book XI. "Any one else, in the desire to palliate the disaster with which he had met, would have exalted the prowess of the enemy."

Dio, Book XII. "The former, indeed, might have become to a certain extent estranged from you."[1]

Dio, Book XII. "Some are dead, and the rest captured, at least those deserving of any notice."[1]

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both parties, or, if that is not possible, to effect an exchange of prisoners." After speaking these words, he withdrew with the envoys, so that the Romans might deliberate in private. When the consuls urged him to take part in their discussion, he paid no heed, until permission was granted by the Carthaginians. And for a time he was silent; then, when the senators bade him state his opinion, he said: "I am one of you, Fathers, though I be captured times without number. My body is a Carthaginian chattel, but my spirit is yours. The former has been alienated from you, but the latter nobody has the power to make anything else than Roman. As captive I belong to the Carthaginians; yet, inasmuch as I met with misfortune not from cowardice, but from zeal, I am not only a Roman, but I also have your cause at heart. Not in a single respect, now, do I think reconciliation advantageous to you."

division here adopted assumes two mistakes instead of one on the part of the grammarian in Bekker's Anecdota in citing books.

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[1] Probably from the speech of Regulus to the senators; compare Zonaras.

31 Δίων ια' βιβλίῳ "οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς ἐμοῦ οὔτε πρὸς ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ οὐδενός ἐστι προέσθαι[1] τι τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 165, 23.

Zonaras 8, 15.

Ταῦτα ὁ Ῥηγοῦλος εἰπὼν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας προσέθηκε δι' ἃς τὰς συμβάσεις ἀπηγόρευε, καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ὡς "οἶδα μὲν ὅτι μοι προὖπτος ὄλεθρος πρόκειται. ἀδύνατον γὰρ λαθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἃ συνεβούλευσα· ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον προτίθημι. εἰ δέ τις φήσει, τί οὖν οὐκ ἐκδιδράσκεις ἢ ἐνταῦθα καταμένεις, ἀκούσεται ὅτι ὀμώμοκα αὐτοῖς ἐπανήξειν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν παραβαίην τοὺς ὅρκους, οὐδ' εἰ πρὸς πολεμίους γεγόνασι, καὶ δι' ἄλλα, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι τὸ δεινὸν ἐμπεδορκήσας μὲν μόνος πείσομαι, ἂν δ' ἐπιορκήσω, πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἀναπλησθήσεται."

Ἡ γερουσία δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἕνεκεν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀντιδοῦναι προτεθύμητο. γνοὺς οὖν τοῦτο αὐτός, ἵνα μὴ τὸ συμφέρον δι' αὐτὸν καταπρόωνται, ἐπλάσατο πεπωκέναι φάρμακον δηλητήριον καὶ μέλλειν πάντως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ οὔτε ἡ σύμβασις γέγονεν οὔτε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἡ ἀμοιβή. ἀπιόντος δ' αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀντελάβοντο ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ἡ γυνή· οἱ δ' ὕπατοι μήτ' ἐθέλοντα καταμεῖναι αὐτὸν ἐκδώσειν ἔφασαν μήτ' ἀπιόντα κατασχεῖν. καὶ

[1] ἐστι προέσθαι Bk., ἐπιπροέσθαι Ms.

BOOK XI

Dio, Book XI. "For it neither becomes me nor any other upright man to sacrifice aught that pertains to the public welfare."[1]

Zonaras 8, 15.

After these remarks Regulus stated also the reasons because of which he favoured rejecting the proposals, and added: "I know, to be sure, that manifest destruction awaits me, for it is impossible to keep them from learning the advice I have given; but even so, I esteem the public advantage above my own safety. If any one shall say, 'Why, then, do you not run away, or stay here?' he shall be told that I have sworn to them to return, and I will not transgress my oaths, not even when they have been given to enemies. My reasons for this attitude are various, but the principal one is that if I abide by my oath, I alone shall suffer disaster, but if I break it, the whole city will be involved."

But the senate, out of consideration for his safety, showed a disposition to make peace and to restore the captives. When he became aware of this, he pretended, in order that he might not be the cause of their letting their advantage slip, that he had swallowed deadly poison and was sure to die in any case from its effects. Hence no agreement and no exchange of prisoners was made. As he was departing in company with the envoys, his wife and children and others clung to him, and the consuls declared they would not surrender him, if he chose to stay, nor yet would they detain him if he was for

[1] See note on p. 445.

Zonaras 8, 15.

οὕτω προτιμήσας μὴ παραβῆναι τοὺς ὅρκους ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ αἰκισθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς ἡ φήμη λέγει, ἀπέθανε. τὰ γὰρ βλέφαρα αὐτοῦ περιτεμόντες, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν σκότει καθείρξαντες, εἶτα εἰς σκεῦός τι σύμπηκτον κέντρα πανταχόθεν ἔχον ἐμβαλόντες αὐτὸν καὶ τρέψαντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, οὕτως ὑπὸ κακοπαθείας καὶ ἀγρυπνίας μὴ δυνάμενόν πῃ κλιθῆναι διὰ τὰ κέντρα διέφθειραν. ἃ πυθόμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς πρώτους τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς αἰχμαλώτων παρέδοσαν τοῖς ἐκείνου παισὶ καὶ ἀνταικίσασθαι καὶ ἀνταποκτεῖναι.

Zonaras 8, 15.

departing. Consequently, since he preferred not to violate the oaths, he was carried back. And he was tortured to death, as the report goes, by his captors. They cut off his eyelids and for a time shut him up in darkness, then they cast him into some kind of specially constructed receptacle bristling with spikes, and made him face the sun; thus through suffering and sleeplessness—for the spikes kept him from reclining in any fashion—he perished. When the Romans found it out, they delivered the foremost captives in their hands to his children to torture and put to death in revenge.

END OF VOL. I

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